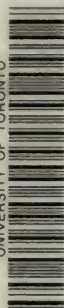


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HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

VOL. V.

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

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HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND

FROM THE ABOLITION
OF
THE ROMAN JURISDICTION.

BY
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LATE VICAR OF WARKWORTH,
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VOL. V.
ELIZABETH.—A.D. 1558—1563.

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PREFACE.

CANON DIXON published the fourth volume of his Church History in 1890. A period of severe illness followed his completion of the book. He laid aside his studies for some time, and devoted what health and strength he had to the discharge of his ordinary parochial and diocesan duties. These weighed upon him with increasing force. In 1894 he appears to have taken up once more the dropped threads of the History. He worked constantly at the records of the early years of Elizabeth, until, a few weeks before his death, he was able to announce the practical completion of the two volumes which he did not live to publish. His diary marks regularly the conclusion of each chapter, with some added note in many cases. On the last day of November, 1899, he wrote down these words, "Finished chapter XL and the fifth volume of my History. How can I thank the Lord of Mercy, who has granted me to begin this volume in sore distress and to finish it in peace of mind? How infinite is His mercy! Glory be to Him for ever." The task of revision was begun at once. He was now in good health and spirits, and worked through December and the first half of January, adding many notes and rewriting certain passages. On the 17th of the latter month he set down the last entry in his diary, "Finished revising chapter XXXII of my History for the press: a most severe task." A few days after

making this entry a severe attack of influenza seized him. He was unable to shake it off, and he passed away peacefully on the 23rd of January, 1900.

His literary work had absorbed Canon Dixon's interest during the last months of his life, and great was his joy as he saw it daily nearing completion. Arrangements had been concluded with the Clarendon Press for its issue, and all the details of printing it were settled when the author died. One of Mrs. Dixon's first cares was to see to the publication of the nearly completed work. All that was needed was the service of some friend to put the manuscript in order, and to supervise its passage through the press. Accordingly the written sheets and notes were gathered together and placed in my hands in February, 1900. I took the manuscript as it was, and altered nothing in the text save a few obvious slips. The papers were in fairly continuous order, and beyond the trouble of reading, arranging, and paging them, my labour at this stage was not very heavy. The real toil came with the appearance of the proofs, when it was necessary to seek out and verify every single quotation from printed book and manuscript. I have taken nothing on trust. All the works and documents cited have been sought out at the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the library at Lambeth Palace, and at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. It is needless to say that this close investigation occupied much time and involved many journeys. I was able to do myself nearly all that was necessary, and only in a few cases delegated the task of verification to the competent care of Miss Ethel Stokes. I have to thank her not only for the trouble taken in this connexion, but also for the index, which is due to her practised hand. It has been modelled on the indexes in previous volumes for

the sake of uniformity. My thanks are due to Mrs. Dixon for notes and information supplied to me ; to my wife, who read aloud to me the proofs of both volumes ; to Mr. C. E. Doble, of the Clarendon Press, who has bestowed vigilant attention and keen personal interest on the book as it passed through the press, and has saved me from error not once or twice only ; to my friend, Mr. J. C. Hodgson of Alnwick, who first introduced me to Canon Dixon, and has furnished me with certain biographical details ; to Mr. H. C. Beeching, who has allowed me to make use of his account of Canon Dixon, contributed to the forthcoming supplementary volume of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. I cannot help adding that I am deeply conscious of the loss that the volumes have sustained by the death of Bishop Stubbs, to whom the manuscript was submitted before it went to press, and who saw some of the earlier proof-sheets. I only trust that the pains which have been taken may have resulted in completing the work in a manner not altogether unworthy of the memory of my dead friend.

To those who knew Canon Dixon only from his Church History it may prove interesting, if I append a short account of one who lived a retired life that was far fuller and wider than might have been suspected. Richard Watson Dixon was born at Islington in 1833. He was the son of Dr. James Dixon, a well-known Wesleyan preacher, whose life he afterwards wrote. On his mother's side he came of even more distinguished Wesleyan ancestry, for his grandfather was the Rev. Richard Watson, whose names were bestowed on the infant grandson. Mr. Watson had a deserved eminence in the Wesleyan body some sixty years ago. Young Dixon was educated at Birmingham Grammar School chiefly under Dr. Gifford, and remembered the

great trio, Westcott, Lightfoot, and Benson, though he did not come into close contact with them.* Edwin Hatch and Edward Burne-Jones were exact contemporaries. He was confirmed at the age of fourteen with his father's express sanction. His progress in learning was rapid, and he was remembered at Richmond Wesleyan College, where he stayed as a guest before he went to Oxford, and was exhibited by the teachers to the shame of backward students whose knowledge was far behind that of the schoolboy. Proceeding to Pembroke College, Oxford, he was brought more and more under English Church influence, and determined to take Holy Orders. He was no mean scholar, but his love for general literature seems to have led him to take up a wide and desultory course of private reading, which was fatal to the attainment of high honours. As the close friend of Burne-Jones and William Morris he indulged his strong artistic and poetical tastes. He now painted and wrote verses. At Oxford, too, he first evinced historical aptitude, and in 1858, after taking his degree, gained the Arnold Prize for an essay on "The Close of the Tenth Century of the Christian Era." This effort has been described as singularly mature, but it shows little of the prose poetry which afterwards distinguished him.

* Dr. Gifford has supplied the following interesting note about Canon Dixon's school career :—"When I went to Birmingham in January, 1848, Dixon was in one of the lower classes of the Classical School, and left for College in 1852. In that year we celebrated the Tercentenary of the foundation of the school, and Dixon won the first prize for an essay on 'The State of Literature in England in the Time of Edward the Sixth,' the second prize being gained by his friend, E. Burne-Jones, while Edwin Hatch won a prize for an essay on 'The Social Condition of England in the Time of Edward the Sixth.' At the same time Dixon also gained a prize for an English poem on the 'Sicilian Vespers,' which received some commendation from Goldwin Smith, who adjudged it. These earliest indications of Dixon's taste for the two chief studies of his life, History and Poetry, seem to be worthy of notice."

Canon Dixon was ordained in the same year, 1858, to a curacy in Lambeth under the Rev. Robert Gregory, the present Dean of St. Paul's. His pastime was still the writing of poetry. He published *Christ's Company* in 1861, *Historical Odes* in 1863, and in the latter year he gained the Cramer Prize at Oxford for a religious poem on "St. John in Patmos."

After five years spent as a curate in London, Canon Dixon turned his attention to teaching, and for a like period was second master at Carlisle High School. In 1868 he commenced that connexion with Carlisle Cathedral which, in one shape or another, he retained to the day of his death. He was appointed Minor Canon, and was also constituted honorary librarian. In the latter capacity he arranged and catalogued the books belonging to the Dean and Chapter, and deepened the love for books which he had imbibed at Oxford. It cannot be doubted that the laborious way in which he toiled at the Carlisle Catalogue brought to him an acquaintance with many of the works which were afterwards to be his very frequent companions in writing the History. It was at some forgotten date in the years at Carlisle that Canon Dixon first turned his attention to the serious study of the sixteenth century. It came about in this way: he was asked to contribute an article on the English Liturgy to some projected encyclopaedia. He read widely, and was struck by the superficial character of the histories of the Prayer Book accessible thirty years ago. Accordingly he entered on the path of documentary research which engrossed him for so many years. It appears to be impossible to discover how long these Prayer Book studies lasted. It was, however, when he was at Carlisle that he commenced them, and at Carlisle he produced his first book, the

biography of his father, which was published in 1874. In the same year he published an essay on "The Maintenance of the Church of England." This essay marks the transition of his interests from poetry and literature to English Church History.

It was in 1874, too, that Bishop Harvey Goodwin marked his appreciation of Canon Dixon's learning by elevating him to an honorary canonry. In the same year the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle presented him to the living of Hayton in Cumberland. Here he remained for eight years, and here he wrote nearly half the chapters of his Church History. Some change of proprietorship in the encyclopaedia brought the original scheme of publication to nought, and threw back on his hands the article concerning the Prayer Book. This disappointment led directly to the larger History. The material he had acquired was seen to constitute a large slice of Reformation history. He therefore determined to expand it, and to write as complete an account as possible. He fixed on the year 1530 as the starting-point of his enterprise, and he never undertook the introductory volume on the earlier years of Henry VIII, which was as much needed as the detailed narrative of the years which followed the abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction. He was well embarked on his course during the first year at Hayton, but his speed was slow, and his apparatus deficient. The difficulty and magnitude of his enterprise struck him painfully. He sums up the account of his first year's work by saying, "An historian may not plead difficulties, but if he might, I could: want of books leading to constant corrections and insertions of newly found matter, remote situation, many interruptions! But who has a right to expect less than every possible difficulty?" But he toiled on, and

finished his first volume in the spring of 1877, and brought back a copy of the published work just before Christmas Day in that year. "Now for the critics," he wrote in his diary as he recorded the appearance of the book.

It is doubtful whether Canon Dixon at first contemplated the continuance of his work. The expense of publication had been a very serious matter, and he discovered to his dismay that the sale of even the whole edition would still leave him with an adverse balance of £20. Nor were the reviews when they began to appear a very great encouragement. It was clear to him that some of the writers were not competent to judge the merits of his work, and that, meanwhile, the general public were forming from them an erroneous opinion of the new historian. One review, however, by one highly qualified to speak, appears to have cheered him greatly. I am inclined to think that this discriminating notice in the *Academy* from the pen of the late Mr. Nicholas Pocock, the editor of Burnet, spurred him to go on. Stimulated no less by his own personal interest in the History, he resumed his writing in the month which followed Mr. Pocock's review. Much of his material was ready, and he made fairly rapid progress. At the end of September, 1878, he wrote, "All this month I have been writing hard. If I could add a few years to my destined life! I fear I have begun too late. And yet Gibbon published his first volume just about the same age that I published mine—at 45. His youth was as weakly as mine, and he too found Oxford an *injusta noverca*. But then he had money, and had not to write and preach two or three sermons a week." The second volume, which was occupied with the history of ten years, was finished in eighteen months, so that it was the most

quickly completed of all the six volumes. When he received in June, 1880, the first batch of proofs, he said, "The plague is begun. Why do I say so? From stupidity; for, as Southey said, correcting proof-sheets is one of the pleasures of life. If I had a hundred a year to spend on publication without hesitation, it would be all I want from fate. . . . I wonder whether this volume will succeed better than the first. . . . I cannot but feel some discouragement at the result, so far, of the first volume."

When the second volume was off his hands Canon Dixon appears to have again taken up his long neglected poetry. For a year he touched little or no history, at least so far as regular writing is concerned. *Mano*, the chief poem of this period, was being revised and corrected, though it was not published until 1883. Its production much exhausted him. By that date the third volume of the History, begun in 1881, had been for some time resumed. It was ready for press in the summer of 1884. The task was carried to its completion very tardily, as many interruptions took place to delay it. The appearance of *Mano* marks the close of Canon Dixon's Cumberland life. Towards the end of 1883 Bishop Harvey Goodwin presented him to the living of Warkworth in Northumberland, which was to be his home for the rest of his life. It was the best piece of preferment that the Bishop then had at his disposal, and some satisfaction must be felt that a sphere sufficiently quiet, but less remote from men and books, was thus found for one who was no hermit, though shy and retiring. Two years before he went to Warkworth he wrote, "The life of utter solitude is telling on my spirits and manners. Never to speak to a man, unless a villager, from week to week, and month to month! At best to

see but another clergyman in a formal official sort of way—this is enough to transform one to a Caliban.” From Warkworth, on the main line of railway, libraries were more accessible at Alnwick, Bamburgh, and Newcastle, whilst the choice Cathedral collections at Durham and York were not too far away. Yet he left Hayton with real sorrow, and his “Valediction to Cumberland,” written in elegiacs, testifies to the sincerity of this feeling. At Warkworth the third volume of the History was completed, as has already been stated, in 1884. Another interval followed its completion, and once more poetry held Canon Dixon’s interest. He had published his *Odes and Eclogues* in the same year, though they had been accumulating for some time. He published privately the *Lyrical Poems* in 1886, and was long at work on *Eudocia and her Brothers*, which did not appear in print until 1888. There are through these years in the diary perpetual notices of the poems.

The fourth volume of the History, dealing with the reign of Queen Mary, was commenced in 1886. Illness, bereavement, and diocesan duties much interfered with it. The writing of the last page is noted with a “Laus Deo” at the beginning of the year 1890. Then came a prolonged tour to the South of France and Italy, which he greatly enjoyed, and returned with fresh energy to the proofs which were waiting for him. How the writing of the History was laid aside for nearly four years ere the fifth volume was begun has been told above. And yet it was never entirely laid aside. Canon Dixon wrote for the *English Historical Review* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He took careful note of all judicious criticism, and collected, from time to time, any new information that came before him. Thus additions and corrections

were made, and were sent on to the publisher in order to be added to the text or notes. In this way the work underwent continuous revision, although no more than three editions of volumes I and II, and two of volumes III and IV, were printed during his lifetime.

The four volumes gradually brought to completion in a period of some sixteen years, and constantly revised, formed a work too massive for any save serious students of the Reformation to appreciate, and Canon Dixon began to feel rewarded by the growingly warm commendation which his labours were now receiving from such scholars. Reference has been made to the review of the first volume which came from Mr. Pocock. It may not be out of place to quote that sentence from it which so warmed the author's heart, "We do not hesitate to say that it is the best history of the Reformation yet written from the Anglican standpoint." But the best appreciation of Canon Dixon's work, that ever appeared in print, was written by his neighbour at Embleton, the late Bishop Creighton, in 1886, in a review of the third volume contributed to the *Academy* (Feb. 27, 1886):

"Mr. Dixon's previous volumes have already established his character for scholarly research and patient investigation. They have also done much to recover for English literature a style of prose writing which is admirably adapted for historical purposes. This last characteristic has met with little recognition. Historical students are rarely heedful of literary merits. Those who are interested in literature seldom look into long histories, unless they have the popularity accorded to the pages of Lord Macaulay. It is indeed a difficult task to write history and preserve any distinctive features of style. Mr. Dixon retains throughout his pages a clearly marked individuality, which is never obtruded, but which speaks in hints. He is serious, sober, even massive: but flashes of dry humour meet us at every turn. Moreover, he has in a way identified himself with the times of which he writes. His extracts from contemporary papers do not strike the reader as remote or foreign to the narrative; rather the narrative

itself bears the impress of the source from which it came. Mr. Dixon's account of theological controversies is not a dry summary, but rather an echo of original voices. All this is done without affectation, or traces of conscious effort. Sometimes, it must be admitted, latinized words of unfamiliar form and doubtful advantage seem to show that Mr. Dixon was thinking too entirely about the past, and had forgotten the present. But his pages have all the charm that comes from a feeling of dainty workmanship—so dainty that we fear it is but slightly perceived by the hasty reader. His diligence and thoroughness of workmanship is admirable. He is fair-minded and impartial."

This criticism has caught the three great characteristics of the History in regard to matter, form, and spirit, when it draws attention to the original materials, the Dixonian style, the gentle impartiality of the writer's judgment. No English Church historian, perhaps, has succeeded in combining truth and generosity to so remarkable a degree; and certainly it has been given to no other to array his narrative in a style of such dignity. As Professor Beeching has said, "The style of the work is the prose-style of a poet." To an honest student of the Reformation, however, the great merit of the History lies in its "echo of original voices." Canon Dixon strove, and strove with success, to base his statements upon documentary evidence. He consulted all previous written histories with judicious discrimination, but the rock on which he built was not Burnet, or Strype, or Collier, but the wide manuscript materials that were accessible to them, and the wider authorities of the same class that have been rendered accessible in recent years. No doubt he has left for others rich gleanings in this path of research, but he honestly traversed the whole field, and gathered from every part of it. Perhaps those only who have tried to do something in the same kind of work can duly appreciate the immense toil and

industry which the six printed volumes represent. Frail in body, and remote from the great collections of manuscripts, Canon Dixon yet found opportunity to visit them from time to time in order "to stop a hole," as he put it. Now and then, but only now and then, he delegated the task of copying to others. Accompanied by Mrs. Dixon, who would act as amanuensis, he stayed with friends near the British Museum, where he spent long days. He was a visitor, too, at irregular intervals in the Public Record Office and the Lambeth Library. He spent several days over the Parker manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. It was in the rooms of Mr. C. W. Moule, the Librarian, that he dictated to his wife the "Protestants' Declaration" which is described in this volume.

With regard to methods of work Canon Dixon studied, as he wrote, annalistically. It seems to have been his habit to note down, first of all, on a large sheet of paper, the main events of each year, and then by degrees to fill in the interstices with smaller points in chronological order. The next step, apparently, was to annex references to all manner of authorities for the full account of special topics. He would reserve in a notebook the heads of all such matters as required fuller investigation. When the opportunity for a visit to London came, he carried these notebooks with him and filled page after page with the result of his researches. Sometimes he made on paper a study of some portion of the year, or of some intricate question, writing out his judgment on it, or jotting down a happy phrase or expression. Thus prepared, he began to write in full the history of the year under review, but he supplemented or corrected his account continuously, until the book was sent to the printer. The rate at which he worked varied much. At first

he was very slow, but the pace mended. The first chapter of all occupied him for nearly a year. The last two chapters of Mary's reign were completed in two months and one month respectively. He never attained the same speed again. It is, I think, true that he began the fifth volume with greatly impaired strength. The History became a greater weight to him in consequence. He had said in 1876, "Well, I shall never finish [my History], but I hope to do some part—'to sow some generous seed before I die.'" What limit to his project was then before his mind it is impossible to determine. He lived on and worked on as time and health were given. He told me, however, a few weeks before he died, that he doubted whether he should ever resume the work from the point which he had reached. He was very happy then. At the instance of Bishop Stubbs, Bishop Creighton, and Canon Ince, the University of Oxford was about to bestow on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. It was, perhaps, a tardy recognition of his worth and work, but he received it with much satisfaction. It was the last great pleasure of his life.

HENRY GEE.

RIPON: *September, 1901.*

ERRATA IN VOL. V.

P. 61, line 10, *for* January 20 *read* February 16. (*See footnote.*)

P. 353, line 8 *for* Lombard *read* Lambard.

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HISTORY

OF

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ELIZABETH.—A.D. 1558.

ON Thursday, November 17, about two hours after the death of Queen Mary,* at nine in the morning, the Peers assembled themselves in their chamber, and the Lord Chancellor, Archbishop Heath, announced the vacancy of the throne. After a brief consultation, the Commons were summoned to the bar, and Heath rehearsed to them the mournful tidings, advising them that although Parliament was dissolved by the event, they could do no better as the assembly of an estate than join with the Lords in proclaiming the Lady Elizabeth, whose right and title the Lords esteemed free from all quarrel, doubt, and question. His countenance and voice were composed, as neither sad nor apprehensive: the Commons consented with alacrity: and before noon Elizabeth was proclaimed by the heralds at arms

* We have seen that, according to the eyewitness Priuli, Mary died seven hours after midnight, Vol. IV. p. 728 *huj. op.* Lingard says that "Mary expired about noon," in which he must be wrong.

and by trumpeters at the door of Westminster Palace, at the Cross in Cheap, and in other places of the City.*

In the afternoon all the church bells rang : at night bonfires were lit, tables set in the street, and there was eating and drinking and merry-making for the new Queen Elizabeth.†

On the same day the black enamelled ring which she wore was taken from the inanimate hand of Mary by the enterprising Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, who hastened with it to Hatfield.‡ Many of the Court and Council were there already : among them the man whom Elizabeth had singled out to be the guide of her reign, Sir William Cecil, who, like Elizabeth, had

* Hayward's *Elizabeth* ; Heylin ; Lingard. Burnet puts into the mouths of the peers some of Hayward's reflections. It may be worth notice that the *Lords' Journal*, on that day, marks none of the Lords as present in their chamber. Similarly, it marks none on the day of the announcement of Henry VIII.'s death, which however had been kept unannounced for two days, the assembly in the interval meeting for business, and having those present marked.

† Machyn, 176 ; Hayward.

‡ Throckmorton lived in privacy during Mary's time, but often stole over to Hatfield, and was secretly charged by Elizabeth to bring the ring whenever her sister died : see the curious poem *Throckmorton's Ghost*, edited by Nichols, Roxburghe Club, p. 36.

"She said, Sith nought exceedeth woman's fears,
Who still do dread some baits of subtlety,
Sir Nicolas, know a ring my sister wears,
Enamelled black, a pledge of loyalty,
The which the King of Spain in spousals gave :
If it falls out amiss, 'tis this I crave.

"But mark, ope not your lips to any one
In hope it to obtain of courtesy,
Unless you know my sister first be gone,
For grudging minds will soon join treachery :
So shall thyself be safe, and I be sure,
Who takes no hurt, shall need no care of cure."

Throckmorton received the ring from one of Mary's ladies, and galloped to Hatfield, but the news of Mary's death had already reached Elizabeth when he arrived.

complied and gone to Mass during the persecution.* Order was taken under the prudent management of this statesman to do without the least delay all that was necessary to be done on a change of sovereign: to print the Proclamation, and post it to the sheriffs; to write to all the keepers of forts and castles in the Queen's name; to examine all places of strength toward France and Scotland; to close the ports; to renew the commissions of ambassadors, justices, and sheriffs; to send special messengers to foreign powers, including the Pope; to arrange for the burial of the old and the coronation of the new Queen; and, not least of all things, "to consider the condition of the preacher of Paul's Cross, that no occasion might be given by him to stir any dispute touching the governance of the realm."† On Saturday, the Te Deum was sung and said in all the churches of London: and next day, Sunday, November 20, the preacher selected for Paul's Cross was Doctor Bill, Elizabeth's chaplain, who made a goodly sermon.‡ On the same day the Council met at Hatfield, when some of the offices of the household were filled up, and Cecil was appointed principal Secretary of State.§

On Wednesday, November 23, Elizabeth moved from Hatfield toward London, attended by more than a thousand lords, knights, gentlemen, ladies, and gentlewomen.|| The bishops met her at Highgate: a diminished band, for a third part of the sees were void, or filled by dying incumbents: eight or nine, it

* Cecil's compliance is proved, against the confident denials of his biographers, by Tytler, *Reigns of Edw. and Mary*, ii. 435.

† Strype, *Annals*, i. 4. The memorial for doing all these things is in Cecil's hand, of the date of the day of Mary's death.

‡ Machyn, 178.

§ *Acts of the Council*, edited by Dasent, p. 1.

|| Machyn.

is probable, were as many as presented themselves : and Bonner of London, White of Winchester, Watson of Lincoln, Pate of Worcester, Baines of Lichfield, Goldwell of St. Asaph, Turberville of Exeter, Scot of Chester, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, Christopherson of Chichester, any of them may have been of the number who fell on their knees before the Queen in testimony of loyalty and affection.* It was still in suspense what way the religious policy of the coming reign would incline : the anxious and unusual demonstration of the prelates was not ill timed if the mind of the Queen were still undecided. She listened to their address with complacency, and allowed them to kiss her hand, excepting only Bonner from the favour, it is said.† She proceeded to the Charterhouse, Lord North's place, where she stayed some days, till the Tower should be fitted for her reception.

It may have been noted, among some other symptoms hopeful to the Romanensians at this juncture, that in the Tower, whereas some other prisoners were huddled together in one lodging to make room for the royal train, the celebrated Doctor Weston, a prisoner there, was by order of the Council more mildly allowed

* All these bishops were in London a few days before, on November 16, as appears from the *Lords' Journal*, except Watson of Lincoln ; and he was there on November 14. As to the rest of the bishops, Tunstall of Durham was in his see, Thirlby of Ely was commissioner in France, Griffin of Rochester, Hopton of Norwich, Holyman of Bristol, died about this time. The other sees were vacant. Christopherson of Chichester also died about this time ; but he may nevertheless have been among those who met the Queen, as he preached at St. Paul's Cross a few days after.

† Because of his "bloody butcheries" : Heylin. Stow is the authority for this meeting at Highgate. "Being met," he says, "by the bishops at Highgate, who, kneeling, acknowledged their allegiance, which she very graciously accepted, giving to every of them her hand to kiss, except Bishop Bonner, which she omitted for sundry severities in the time of his authority."—*Chron.* 634.

the liberty of the place under surety of good behaviour.* Many rumours were born of the uncertainty of the hour: an augury was hung on every incident; but the expectation grew that Elizabeth would not change religion. "Before her sister's death," wrote Priuli to Venice, "the Queen evinced her intention of making no further changes in religion, and on the second day after she was proclaimed she published an edict announcing that she would change nothing that had been ordained and established by her sister during her reign, and that she would have all to conform to her will. She continues to hear Mass, and to have it heard daily by her whole household. No change is seen in the churches. No outrage has been offered in London to any priest or friar. She immediately confirmed in their posts some of her sister's councillors, and first of all the Archbishop of York. Other new councillors she appointed, giving also the principal offices in her household to her chief favourites: and the Archbishop of York has not been confirmed in the post of Chancellor, though it was intimated to him that he would be. But it is thought universally that the learned Dean of Canterbury, Wotton, now in Flanders, will be advanced to the archsee of Canterbury and receive also the office of Lord Chancellor."† On the following Sunday, November 27, the dying Christopherson of Chichester delivered at Paul's Cross a vehement answer to Bill's sermon of the week before, loudly exclaiming that the new doctrine set forth by Doctor Bill was not the Gospel, but the invention of heretical men. Hereupon he was summoned to Elizabeth's presence, questioned concerning his sermon,

* *Privy Council Acts*, edited by Dasent, p. 6.

† *Venetian Cal.*, vi. p. 1559, Nov. 27. As to Wotton, see also vol. vii. pt. 1.

and sent to prison.* This was the first severity of the reign.

On the morning after this ebullition the Queen rode on horseback to the Tower. The streets were all new gravelled: she passed through Barbican and Cripplegate, by London Wall to Bishopsgate, through Gracechurch Street and Fenchurch Street. The gates were richly hanged: and thereby the waits of the city sounded loud music. The mayor rode before her, with the Garter king at arms carrying a sceptre. The scholars of Paul's School, one of whom made a short speech in Latin, the companies standing within their rails, met her with salutations: a peal of ordnance, lasting half an hour, gave her the welcome of the fortress, which she is said to have entered with a moral reflection on her own vicissitudes. Her grace and dignity, her beauty and condescension, won all hearts, and made all honours seem too mean for such worth.† She remained in the Tower a week, during which time the unfortunate prisoner Weston was released: then she went by water to Somerset House in the Strand.

By these easy and well-studied gradations the daughter of Anne Boleyn entered upon the sovereignty which has rendered her to posterity the most celebrated name of regnant queens. With the throne in full prospect there seemed to shine about her that golden enchantment which for half an age was to dazzle the eyes of all, compelling the strong to aid her strength with their strength, the wise to augment her wisdom with their wisdom, the brave to spend their bravery for her bravery. Of that extraordinary character the charm lay in the feminine quality, which

* Sandys to Bullinger. From Strasburg, December 20. *Zurich Lett.* i. 4. Christopherson died a month after his sermon.

† Hayward, 11; Holinshed, 156; Machyn, 180; Wriothesley, 142.

met all men with that which seemed the partner of their several tastes, resembling that which they preferred, and yet not the double but the counterpart and completion of it. At the age of twenty-five, in the fullness of beauty, every gesture, every mood was praised: a people not wanting in generosity was ready to smile upon the caprices or extravagances of a ruler whom they knew instinctively not to be separated from themselves by aims or aspirations above them. The reputation of freedom and gaiety, mixed with imperious temper, struck well with the humour of the nation. If other things were whispered, it was unheeded in the general exultation.

The funerals of the sister and of the kinsman, whose dark decline doubled the lustre of her rising, now proceeded with decent solemnity. The body of Mary was taken from her chamber to her chapel in St. James's, with her gentlemen and ladies, her officers and servants, all in black: and on the same day, December 10, the body of Pole was removed from Lambeth in a car with many bannerols, banners of arms, and four painted banners of saints, and carried to Canterbury, where he was interred.* At the request of his executor Priuli, the Bishops of Worcester and St. Asaph, Pate and Goldwell, his greatest friends among the bishops, who had adhered to him in his exile under Henry and Edward, were permitted by the Queen and Council to attend him to the grave, where one of them pronounced the Latin, the other the English oration.† After lying in her chapel three

* Machyn, 181.

† "A letter to the Bishops of Wigorn. and St. Asaph, signifying that the Queen's Majesty is pleased they shall attend upon the funerals of the late Lord Cardinal, according to Senor Priuli's request."—*Acts of Privy Council*, p. 8. The Council was then at the Charterhouse. See also Strype, i. 37.

days, the mortal remains of Mary were transported to Westminster. Her effigy adorned with crimson velvet, with her crown on the head, surmounted her coffin on a chariot covered with cloth of gold, the cross silver : large companies of mourners, mostly on trapped horses, divided by banners and heralds bearing the ensigns of royalty, went forward ; after the corpse followed the monks of some of the religious houses which she had refounded ; after them a train of bishops. At the great door of the abbey she was met by four bishops and the abbot mitred in copes, incensing the body : she lay all night under a splendid hearse, and was watched. The guard bore staff torches, and were in black : and there were a hundred poor men in good black gowns, with hoods on their heads and long torches in their hands. The next day, December 14, the Queen's Mass of requiem was celebrated, with great solemnity, and offerings were made by the lords, ladies, knights, gentlewomen, and all the heralds who bore the insignia : the Bishop of Winchester preached the sermon : the corpse was carried up to the chapel of Henry the Seventh, and there deposited in earth.* It seemed to mark the end of a bygone polity when the same hearse was used a few days later, December 23, to celebrate the obsequies of the uncle and adviser of Mary, the friend and rival of Mary's father, the late Emperor Charles the Fifth.†

The sermon of White at Mary's funeral was somewhat unfortunate. The severe prelate took the opportunity of asseverating the fears and hopes of the Romanensian party in a strain that was not unjustly considered inappropriate. Amid denunciations and warnings which all in every age might

* Machyn, 183.

† *Ib.*, 184.

well lay to heart, expressed with that precision which is the only true eloquence,* he mingled unfavourable reflections on the present prospect, the anticipated return of the religious exiles, the apprehended alteration of religion; and he was thought to have hinted a comparison intolerable to the new Queen. "I was regenerate," said he, putting the example in his own person, "and by a solemn vow became a member of Christ's Catholic Church, and have since divided myself from the unity thereof, and I am become a member of the new Church of Geneva. The ministers of the Church are appointed to keep watch and give warning when the enemy cometh. At this present, I warn you, the wolves be coming out of Geneva, and other places of Germany, and have sent their books before, full of pestilent doctrines, blasphemy, and heresy, to infect the people." His text was "I praise the dead more than the living": which he ingeniously reconciled with the opposite proverb of the inspired moralist, that "a living dog is better than a dead lion." It was the text, or texts, rather than the sermon that seemed offensive, for he said nothing derogatory to Elizabeth.† On the contrary,

* White's sermon has several passages like these: "To be born in Christ's Church and not to abide therein: to promise and not to perform: to promise penance here and not to practise: to hear the truth and not to believe: to be daily taught and never to learn: ever to be warned and never to beware: that is horrible, execrable, cursed, and damnable." "Neither have they [the lost] qualification of pain, nor intermission of time, nor hope of end. Oh! merciful Lord, if this be the condition of men, the end of worldly glory, riches, and vanity, in what case stand we?" &c.

† Some writers seem to think that White hung an insulting comparison on his proverbs. Miss Strickland makes him say that "Queen Mary had left a sister, a lady of great worth, whom they were bound to obey; for," said he, "*melior est canis vivus leone mortuo*." Elizabeth was too good a Latinist not to fire at this elegant simile, which declared that a living dog was better than a dead lion; nor did the orator content himself with

he fully acknowledged her title to the crown, and wished her "a prosperous reign in peace and tranquillity." When he spoke of Mary, he fell into such a fit of weeping that his voice was choked for a time, and it was with sobs and pauses that he uttered his pathetic laudation. "However it pleased God to will her patience to be exercised in this world, she had in all estates the fear of God in her heart. I verily believe the poorest creature in all this city feared not God more than she did. She had the love, commendation, and admiration of all the world. In this church she married herself to this realm, and in token of fidelity did put a ring with a diamond on her finger; which I understand she never put off during her life, whatsoever success things had. She was never unmindful of her promise to her realm. She used singular mercy toward offenders. She used much pity and compassion toward the poor and oppressed. She used clemency among her nobles. She restored more noble houses decayed than ever did prince of this realm. She restored to the church such ornaments as in the time of schism were taken away and spoiled. She found the realm poisoned with heresy, and purged it: and remembering herself to be a member of Christ's Church, refused to write

this currish comparison, for he roundly asserted that "the dead deserved more praise than the living, for Mary had chosen the better part." She also thinks that White preached in Latin, whereas he only gave his text and quotations in Latin; of course, as not accepting any English version. Now he only used his living dog proverb to point an exhortation to persons in authority to be alive in their offices, not sleepy or dead asleep. He carefully showed his meaning as to Mary choosing the better part, and as to praising the dead more than the living: he meant that Mary had the happier part in being dead. His words were, "though God hath mercifully provided for them both, yet Mary *optimam partem elegit*: because it is still a conclusion, *Laudavi mortuos magis quam viventes*."

herself Head thereof: which title never no prince, a thousand and five hundred years after Christ, usurped.* Of the pleasures of this mortal life, the pleasure she took in the service of God only excepted, no person, I suppose, took less: of the troubles and bitterness, none here for his estate takes more. How she took her sickness and disposed herself against death: how she committed herself to God, and the realm to His Providence: what she did, what she said: how meekly she demanded, and with what reverence received the Sacraments of Christ's Church, and especially the Sacrament which Christ has ordained a passport and safe conduct for a Christian man into the haven of everlasting rest, and therefore called Viaticum: and after that, extreme unction: all this, if it were as pithily expressed as she godly and devoutly did it, should be to you more than ten sermons. If angels were mortal, I would rather liken her departure to the death of an angel than of a mortal creature. Let us dedicate ourselves to God's service, remaining under His obedience, and within the unity of His Church: within the which none can perish, neither without it be saved."†

Extraordinary reports arose forthwith concerning an effusion so easily liable to be misunderstood. Jewel at Strasburg was informed that White had made a violent and furious harangue, charging the people that they should go to any extremity rather than allow religion to be altered, and that as for the

* White was wrong in saying that Mary refused to be called Head of the Church of England: see Vol. IV. p. 74 *huj. op.* Burnet says that the contrary is on record in the writs that were sealed for above a year after she came to the crown.—Pocock's *Burnet*.

† White's sermon is given by Strype in his *Mem. Eccl. of Mary*, Original, No. 81. Large extracts are given by Tierney in his *Dodd*, vol. ii. App. 32.

returning exiles, whosoever should kill them would do a good deed.* The matter was not allowed to pass without notice. White was ordered to keep his house, on a charge of sedition which is said to have been brought by the Marquis of Winchester and Heath the Lord Chancellor. In about a month, however, he was called before the Council, reprimanded "for such offences as he had committed in his sermon," and discharged.†

The outbreaks of such high prelates as White and Christopherson, which began the breach between Elizabeth and her bishops, could not but serve to increase an inconvenience which the Tudors held in especial dread, freedom of speech, seditious words. The Council about this time investigated several delinquencies of the kind. The sexton of Christopherson's cathedral church of Chichester, John Shory, was examined of certain lewd words said to have been spoken by him; and the sheriffs of his county were directed to set him in the pillory, if they found him guilty. One Robert Forrest was ordered to be set in the pillory in the next market town to his dwelling, with a paper on his head containing in great letters, "For false and slanderous reports"; and if he showed himself unrepentant of his fault, to have one of his ears cut off. John Buke was sent up from Essex for lewd words, and the sheriff was thanked for his diligence, and requested to exercise it to find any

* "Whitus tuus, in funere Mariæ, quemadmodum ad te scripsi cum essem Basileæ, habuit ad populum insanam et turbulentissimam concionem: omnia potius tentanda esse quam ut quicquam de religione immutaretur: bonum factum, si quis exules reduces interfecerit. Accusatus est seditionis a marchione Vintoniensi thesaurario, et Hetho archiepiscopo Eboracensi." Jewel to Martyr.—*Burnet* (Pocock), vol. vi. p. 396 (Rec. No. 44); *Zurich Lett.* i. 4. (Lat.).

† *Acts of the Privy Council*, p. 45.

others touched in the matter. A lewd malicious fellow of Ashford, in Kent, was ordered to be sent up, both his examinations and himself, to be further examined whether he had uttered the traitorous words which an informer alleged that he had spoken against the Queen. Sir Thomas, the priest of St. Michael's, in Southampton, was charged by some of the inhabitants of the town with lewd words and disorder, committed along with other persons: all concerned were committed to the discretion of the mayor. Lewd words were said to have been spoken by Christopher Savory: and the information was transmitted to Sir Richard Edgecombe and Mr. Hogmore.* On the other hand, the hidden adherents of the Reformation, the former ministers of religion that had been under King Edward, began to show themselves, and to draw assemblies of people, if not in the churches, in the streets and open places, especially in London. One of the ministers of a congregation which had met in secret throughout the late reign was the leader herein: and a single public discourse by Thomas Bentham was sufficient to throw the people into the dispute of ceremonies, and transport into England the troubles of Frankfort.† A Proclama-

* *Acts of the Privy Council*, pp. 18, 19, 31, 47, 51.

† "There be certain persons, having in times past the office of ministry in the Church, which now do purpose to use their former office in preaching and ministry, and partly have attempted the same: assembling, specially in the city of London, in sundry places, great number of people: whereby ariseth among the common sort not only unfruitful dispute in matters of religion, but also contention, and occasion to break common quiet."—*Proclamation to forbid preaching*, Dec. 27, 1558, in Strype, *Annals*, App. No. 3. A Latin translation of this Proclamation may be seen in the *Venetian Calendar*, p. 3. "The queen has forbidden any person, whether papist or gospeller (neve papista neve minister Evangelii), to preach to the people. Some think the reason of this to be, that there was at that time only one minister of the word in London, namely Bentham, whereas the number of the papists was very considerable: others think that it is

tion to forbid preaching, as at the beginning of Edward, and as at the beginning of Mary, was issued in the last days of December: it was moderate and balanced: "to restore universal charity and concord" was said to be her Majesty's desire: the services and ceremonies already used and received by law were ordered to be maintained until the meeting of Parliament, but the Gospels and Epistles, the Ten Commandments, the Litany, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed were allowed in the meantime in English. If the meeting of Parliament appeared to menace the alteration of religion, the mention of the three Estates of the realm might reassure the clergy, and they might perceive that the consultation of the three Estates was to be confined to the matters moved at present. The model of the Chapel Royal, where the English parts of the services above enumerated were mingled with the Latin, was proposed to universal imitation: and the example of the sovereign might encourage the spirit of reconciliation.* On Sunday, January 1, in most parish churches of the City the Epistle and Gospel were read in English in the time of the

owing to the circumstance that having heard only one public discourse of Bentham's, the people began to dispute among themselves about ceremonies, some declaring for Geneva, and some for Frankfort." Jewel to Martyr, Strasburg, Jan. 26, 1559.—*Zurich Lett.* i. 7.

* Ministers were to read the Epistle and Gospel in English "without exposition or addition of any manner, sense, or meaning to be applied or added"; and "the common Litany used at this present in her Majesty's own chapel, and the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in English: until consultation may be had by her Majesty and her three Estates of the realm."—Strype, as above. "The affairs of the religion continue as usual, but I hear that at the court, when the Queen is present, a priest officiates who says certain prayers with the litanies in English after the fashion of King Edward. I pray God to grant that worse may not happen. They then say Vespers and Compline in the old style."—*Ven. Cal.*, p. 1.

Mass, and the English Procession or Litany was used.*

The inter-religion thus established deprived neither party of hope, and yet excited the fears of both. The Romanensians discerned a trembling in the balances. The behaviour of the Queen in her chapel was questionable. On Christmas Day, attending the High Mass, which was celebrated by a bishop, she stayed no longer than the end of the Gospel, and then withdrew with her nobles, without offering: which seemed strange to divers.† Another time she sent orders to the officiant, who was a bishop, not to elevate the Host: as he refused to obey, she rose with her attendants and quitted the chapel.‡ As the chapel was

* “Sunday the 1 of January the Lord Mayor and Aldermen gave in commandment to every ward within the city of London that the parson or curate in every parish church in London should read the Epistle and Gospel of the day in the English tongue in the Mass time: and the English procession now used in the Queen’s chapel, according to a Proclamation sent from her Majesty and her Privy Council, proclaimed in the city of London xxx Decembris, which commandment was that day observed in most parish churches of the city.”—Wriothlesley, 143. See also Hayward, 5 and 13, who calls it the first note of the coming alterations.

† Sir W. Fitzwilliam, *apud* Ellis, *Orig. Lett.*, Ser. 2, ii. 262.

‡ This is generally regarded as the same incident with the former; and it is generally said that Oglethorpe was the bishop. So Camden, Strype, Cardinal Allen (*Answer to Engl. Justice*, p. 51), and others. But Dodd says that the bishop was Heath. This is unlikely if there was only one incident, and that on Christmas Day, for Heath had resigned the Great Seal three days before, and would hardly have appeared in the Queen’s chapel so soon afterwards. Heylin says that some said it was a bishop, and others a priest. Daniel, Dean of Hereford, deposed in the Curia at Rome in 1570 that on Christmas Day it was Oglethorpe who was forbidden but persisted: and that he himself on St. Stephen’s Day was requested to celebrate, but without elevation, by the dean of the chapel in the Queen’s name: that he refused to obey, whereupon her chaplain Minter celebrated without elevation.—Raynaldus, *sub ann.* 1558, or Lewis’s *Sanders’ Angl. Schism*, p. 242. I have ventured to think there was more than one incident, and more than one bishop concerned. And this is confirmed by the account sent by the Spanish ambassador, who wrote: “On the Sunday of Christmas-

propounded for the model, some forward persons beheld in her behaviour an example to be followed in other places of worship at the Elevation.* Such incidents increased the alienation between Elizabeth and the bishops, who, by their position, more than the other clergy, were both bound to stand by the old religion and brought in contact with the new Queen. Nevertheless, to outward view, the preponderance seemed to incline very much toward the Romanensians. The face of things was unchanged. The Mass was celebrated in all churches, and all ceremonies were observed. The Queen and her subjects continued to go to confession. Splendid processions still perambulated the streets. To the Evangelics, or Gospellers, or whatever we may name them, the danger seemed to be that this enforced peace or compromise might be permanent through worldly policy. They saw themselves excluded from the parish churches, unless they would witness the Mass: and they asked themselves whether this exclusion would continue even after the coming consultation of the realm. Many of them had frequented the churches and witnessed the Mass, it is probable, under the stress of the persecution for fear of losing their lives: but, with the inconsistency of human nature, they regarded

tide the Queen before going to Mass sent for the bishop of Carlisle who was to officiate, and told him that he need not elevate the Host for adoration. The bishop answered that she was mistress of his body and life, but not of his conscience: and so she heard Mass till after the Gospel, when she arose and left, so as not to be present at the canon, and adoration of the Host, which the bishop elevated as usual. They tell me that yesterday she heard Mass said by another bishop who was requested not to elevate the Host, and acted accordingly: and she heard it to the end.”—*Spanish Calendar*, p. 17. So the *Venetian Calendar*, p. 2.

* At least so Heylin reports: “All other churches being commanded to conform themselves to the example of the Chapel, the elevation was forborne also in most other places, to the great discontent and trouble of the Popish party.”

less the relief than the hardship of their present position. In reality the advantage lay with them. To meet them as far as it might be, the Queen now allowed them to have worship, not indeed in the streets or public places, but in "open private houses":* thus, in a curious manner, sanctioning meetings that bore resemblance to those conventicles which it was always the policy of the Tudors and of the age to prevent. At these permitted gatherings some touching scenes had place. Many persons who had complied against their conscience during the persecution came, when the Lord's Supper was administered, confessing their public offence and seeking reconciliation with tears. They were received with tears, reconciled, and admitted to communion.† Nor were all parish churches denied to the Gospellers. In spite of the Proclamation the curates of some parishes preached, or invited known preachers into their pulpits; and wherever it was known that a sermon was to be had, the people flocked together.‡ A notable case shewed

* See Lever's important letter to Bullinger, August, 1559, in which he says, that on the accession of Elizabeth they were permitted by the Queen to assemble "in open private houses, but in no public churches" (*in privatis ædibus apertis, sed in nullis publicis templis permittebantur*): and that "the magistrates connived at their frequent assembling in private houses."—*Zurich Lett.*, ii. 29.

† "Large numbers flocked to them, not in the churches, but in private houses. And when the Lord's Supper was administered among them, no strangers were admitted except such as were kept pure from papistry and all notorious sin; or who, ingenuously acknowledging their backsliding and public offence, humbly sought pardon and reconciliation in the presence of all. I have frequently been present on such occasions, and have seen many returning with tears, and some likewise with tears receiving such into communion; so that nothing could be more delightful than the mutual tears of all, the one part bewailing their sins, the other congratulating them on their reconciliation and renewed communion in Christ Jesus."—*Ib.*

‡ "Some of us preachers, who had returned from Germany, considering that the silence imposed for a long and uncertain period was not agreeable

a growing boldness, and offered a test of an uncertain situation. The church of St. Augustine, or of Friars Austin, was assigned to the Italians in the late reign, and there they held their worship still. It seemed good to the Gospellers or Evangelics to storm this stronghold of the foreign religion. At Christmastide, some of them, returned exiles among them, sent to the Italian Consul and demanded the key: were refused: broke the door in: preached four sermons there in one day.* The Italians complained vainly to the Lord High Treasurer, Winchester, who lived hard by; for he shrugged his shoulders, and begged them not to refer the matter to him. The Italian Consul then went to the Lord Mayor, who referred him to the

to the command and injunction of Paul to preach the word of God in season and out of season, having been requested to do so, forthwith preached the Gospel in certain parish churches, to which a numerous audience eagerly flocked together. And when we solemnly treated of conversion to Christ by true repentance, many tears from many persons bore witness that the preaching of the Gospel is more effectual to true repentance and wholesome reformation than anything that the whole world can either imagine or approve. For while this was done among private persons, without the sanction of public authority, at the very same time Masses were being celebrated with all the idolatrous superstition of popery among persons of wealth, influence, and high official position, with the authority of law, proclamation, and custom."—Lever's letter, as above.

* So the Spanish ambassador says: but the Venetian more reasonably indicates two churches for the sermons. "On Christmas Day in the church of St. Augustine, assigned to the Italian nation, two individuals, whom I will not call preachers, for they were mechanics and cobblers, followed by a very great mob, entered by force, breaking the locks of the doors. Both of them leaped into the pulpit, and book in hand commenced reading and preaching to the people, one following the other, uttering a thousand ribaldries concerning the reign of Queen Mary of blessed memory and of Cardinal Pole, and vituperating the people for the errors they had committed in believing their former teachers. A fine metamorphosis, two rogues preaching at once in the same pulpit! This was in the morning: in the afternoon they did the like in the new church of St. Anthony, which was heretofore assigned to the French nation: and also on St. Stephen's Day."—*Ven. Cal.*, p. 2. For the Spanish account see next note.

Council: the Council promised to make enquiry. As nothing was done, the Spanish ambassador, an astute and resolute man, intervened, letting the Council know that they were doing what would be displeasing to his royal master. To him the Queen sent an indirect and tardy expression of regret: a second Proclamation, of which however he approved not, essayed to lock the pulpits more completely: and Paul's Cross at least echoed no more to either voice until the following Easter.*

* The history of this second Proclamation has been somewhat obscure hitherto. It is not in Burnet, Strype, or Wilkins. The text of it seems not extant. The authorities for it hitherto are Heylin (p. 271, Robertson) and Hayward (5), who give a short account of it: that it forbade preaching without license and authority, and that no licensed one should treat of controversies, or move dispute touching government in religion, either for altering or retaining the existing form. One of them says it was issued about the same time as the other Proclamation; the other, soon after it. It was issued through the affair of St. Augustine's church: of which the only record seems to be in the interesting letters of the Spanish and Venetian ambassadors. The former says that the outrage was on Christmastide, and that Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, whom he calls a knave, was present when the church was broken open. As the Council took no action in the matter, he sent his newly come assistant, the Bishop of Aquila, to remonstrate with them. The Queen then, Dec. 27, sent him a message thanking him for what the bishop had said to them, that the affair had much displeased her, and to prevent the like she had issued a new proclamation prohibiting preaching. Sir Peter Carew, who brought the message, offered to bring him a copy, if he cared to see it. He declined. "I said I thought best to send and speak to the Council about the St. Augustine's affair, as it seemed to me a very scandalous business. I had nothing to say about the new Proclamation, as her Majesty would order it to be printed, and I had no desire to see it, but it certainly did seem strange to me that only a month ago she should order a proclamation to be printed providing that no change should be made in religious affairs, and now to issue another in a contrary sense. I did not know what would be thought of it. I was reserved in manner, and expressed great surprise."—*Spanish Calendar*, pp. 16, 17, 19, 20. There is no minute of the Spaniard's interference in the Acts of the Council; nor of the affair at all of St. Augustine's. But there is mention that on Dec. 28, "ten Proclamations of one tenour," that is, ten copies of one proclamation, "for the inhibiting of preachers" were sent to the Lord Mayor to be published next day in the city, "and to be set up where the people may see and read it."—Dasent's *Acts*, p. 31. As the St. Augustine's

These measures, so moderate and reasonable, were indeed but the first shakings. The alteration of religion was deliberated from the beginning of Elizabeth by herself and the men about her: and a notable Device for the purpose, which is extant in several copies, exhibits the prudence and resolution with which they surveyed the situation. By question and answer they reduced to categorical distinctness the work to be done and the difficulties to be faced, the method and way to be taken, the persons, time, and place that best would serve. When shall the Queen attempt to reduce the Church of England to the former purity? it was asked: it was answered, at the next Parliament. What dangers may ensue? Rome, France, Scotland, Ireland, home. The Bishop of Rome will excommunicate the Queen, interdict the realm, and stir up all princes to invade it. The French King will then fight against us, not only as enemies, but heretics. Scotland the same. Ireland will be difficultly stayed in obedience, the clergy there being so addicted to Rome. At home many will be discontented who were hot and earnest in the other religion, as bishops* and judges and

affair made such a stir, it is curious that it should not be mentioned among the contemporaries, such as Machyn. Observe: 1. That there were two proclamations, issued close on one another, Dec. 27 and 29: that of the latter the ten copies which the Council made were perhaps all that were ever made, which will account for its disappearance: that the latter was not contrary to the former, but was a hasty attempt to make the former more stringent, and was called forth by the St. Augustine's affair. 2. That when the Spanish ambassador said that the latter was contrary to the former, and that there was a month between them, he could not have been thinking of the former of these two, which had only been issued two days before: for he said this on Dec. 29. He probably had never seen or heard of it: it was probably one of the many things of which he was kept ignorant. He was thinking of Elizabeth's Proclamation at her accession, which was issued a month or more before, and which was contrary to both these new ones, as it forbade any attempt to alter "any order or usage presently established within the realm."

* "Bishops and all the clergy will see their own ruin: in confession

justices. What remedy for these dangers? Rome is not much to be feared, from whom nothing but evil will, cursing, and practising is to be feared. For France, try for peace; kindle religious controversy. Scotland the same: augment the hope of them who incline them to good religion: and fortify Berwick and get demilances. Ireland wants some money spent on it. How is the alteration to be done? Dismiss those of the late Queen's Council who were chosen for being earnest in the Pope's religion: debase them, and discredit them in their counties; if they seem to bear with the new alteration, credit them not lightly: search them by law. On the other hand, advance her Highness's old servants who have not shrunk in the late storm. Get money out of the bishops and clergy to relieve her Majesty's necessity: for the bishops and clergy took from the crown and extorted from private men, and enriched themselves every way in the late Queen's time. Put them under præmunire, or any other penal law, and pardon them not till they abjure the Pope and conform themselves. So of other offices, such as justices, lieutenants, captains; let no office be in any discontented man's hands. As a rule, turn out old men and put in young men, young gentlemen, which do favour her Highness. Make a sharp law against assemblies of people without authority. When is the alteration to be made, is it to tarry? Let some learned men draw a plot or book, and bring it to her Majesty, to be then put into the Parliament house: Bill, Parker, May, Cox, Whitehead, Pilkington, are meet men; let Sir Thomas Smith call

and preaching and all other ways and means they can, will persuade the people from it: they will conspire with whosoever will attempt to do God a sacrifice in letting the alteration, though it be with murder of Christian men or treason."

them together and be amongst them, and let them meet at his house.* Let Lords Northampton, Bedford, Pembroke, and John Grey be made privy to these proceedings before it be opened to the whole Council. There must be no innovation until the book come forth. When it comes forth, it is to be expected that some will see some old ceremonies left, and be discontented because all doctrine but their own is not abolished, and call the alteration a cloaked papistry and a mingle-mangle. In the interim, for her Majesty's conscience, there may be some other devout prayer or memory, and the seldomer Mass: and when there are several chaplains at the Mass they should always communicate with the executor in both kinds."†

* This was the body of divines who produced the Elizabethan Book of Common Prayer. See next chapter, p. 97.

† Strype, App. iv., printed the Device out of a Cotton MS. Burnet (Bk. iii. Coll. 1) printed it "out of a Book of Sir Thomas Smith." See Pocock's remarks in his *Burnet* (v. 497). Strype thinks it was drawn up either by the worthy John Hales or by Sir T. Smith. It was reprinted from Strype in Tierney's *Dodd*, ii. 123, and App. No. 33. There is an abstract of it in Stevenson's *Foreign Cal. of Eliz.*, p. 19. Lingard describes it too much as if it had been an organic scheme rather than hints and suggestions: "The following plan was submitted to the approbation of the queen: 1. to forbid all manner of sermons, that the preachers might not excite their hearers to resistance; 2. to intimidate the clergy by prosecutions under the Statutes of Præmunire and other penal laws; 3. to debase in the eyes of the people all who had been in authority under the late queen by rigorous enquiries into their conduct, and by bringing them whenever it were possible under the lash of the law; 4. to remove the present magistrates, and appoint others meaner in substance and younger in years, but better affected to the reformed doctrines; 5. to name a secret committee of divines, who should revise and correct the liturgy published by Edward VI." As to the authorship of the Device, it is not improbable that it belongs to a committee. At the end of the year, it seems, there were five committees formed by the Council, consisting of themselves and other persons, for several purposes: one of which was "For consideration of all things necessary for the Parliament."—*Acts*, p. 28. This particular committee was entirely of judges and lawyers, among them Sir Thomas Smith and Gooderick.

Many Elizabethan notes were struck thus early in this remarkable paper: the young men "of the Queen's devotion," the unscrupulous politics, the defiance of Rome, the plunder of the clergy, the religious platform of Edward, the restraint of the extreme Calvinians and Zwinglians, are among the main forces or principles of her reign. In the language there is blunt accuracy. The Romanensians are "the Papist sect." The opposition of the bishops and all the clergy which is anticipated is set down to this, that "they will see their own ruin." Among the means proposed for the alteration was the revision of the Book of Common Prayer, and a new Act for Uniformity: this it was feared would oppress some who wanted religion set free from prescription: "but better it were that they did suffer than that her Highness and the commonwealth should shake." The study of the popular will was manifest. The Device was carried out in the chief particulars, and with the secrecy that was recommended in it. The divines, who were enumerated to revise the Prayer Book, set to work at once, and, before the rest was finished, put forth the Litany and some other prayers, as "used in the Queen's Majesty's Chapel, according to the tenor of the Proclamation." It was in this edition that from the English Litany the petition against "the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities," which was in the Litanies of Henry and Edward, was expunged. To use it would have been impossible at the time. But it may be noted that a surreptitious or accidental issue of the Litany, containing that petition, appeared at the same moment to heighten

Strype may have been right in assigning the authorship to Smith. About these five Committees of Council, a very important matter, see below.

the dismay, or fortify the resolution of the Roman-ensians.*

Secrecy, quietness, rapidity, marked all the state affairs of the first days and weeks. The Council of Mary melted imperceptibly into the Council of Elizabeth, and yet the changes made were effected in a month from Mary's death. She had been dead but three days when Sir Thomas Parry entered the conclave as Comptroller of the Household, and Cornwallis appeared no more: Sir Edward Rogers became Vice-Chamberlain instead of the lightly dis-

* The Parker Society have published two Litanies of this period: one without title, printer's name, or date, and yet rightly assigned by them to this year, 1558. It contains the petition to be delivered "from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities": and the editor therefore suggests that it was "an unauthorised publication of the Protestants (so he calls them), solicitous to recover their lost ground after the death of Mary." I am rather inclined to think it a hasty publication of the Revisers of the Prayer Book (as described above), inadvertently retaining the offensive clause. This Litany has another curious feature or two. It uses "doulour" for "sorrows" in the versicle "Pitifully behold": herein following either the Litany in the Ordinal of Edward VI of 1549, or else his Primer of 1547, which was a reprint of Henry's Primer of 1545. But that it was not the Ordinal but the Primer that was followed appears from this, that this Litany has three collects in it which are not in the Ordinal and are in the Primer. Edward's Ordinal then was not the original used for this republication: nor were (of course) either of his Prayer Books, which have none of these peculiarities. The point is that Edward's Books must have got scarce, if none could be had to print from. His first Book and his first Ordinal must have been largely destroyed under Mary: his second Book had not been widely spread in the seven months that it existed. As to the other Elizabethan Litany, published by the Parker Society, it was printed by Jugge, with the title "The Litany used in the Queen's Majesty's Chapel, according to the tenor of the Proclamation, Anno Christi, 1559." From this "the Bishop of Rome and his enormities" disappear, and the other peculiarities above mentioned. Edward's Second Book was followed in this edition, and from it were added to the Litany the Special Prayers (for Rain, &c.) and the Prayer for the Queen, beginning, "O Lord our heavenly Father." The Creed and Commandments, and a number of Graces for meals, superadded from the Primer, showed that the other original was not forgotten.

graced Bedingfield, and was sworn of the Council; Cecil took the place of Dr. Boxall, Archdeacon of Ely, as Principal Secretary. The Archbishop of York made his last appearance at the Board as Keeper of the Great Seal on the 6th of December: his place was filled, December 23, by Sir Nicolas Bacon. The Lord Montague and seven or eight others found themselves superseded by the Earls of Bedford, Derby, and Northampton, and by Cave, Sadler, Sackville.* Of the old Council eight only adorned the new: Pembroke, Arundel, Howard, Shrewsbury, Winchester, Clinton, Petre, Mason. The administration thus formed appear presently to have assigned some of their number into committees, in conjunction with other persons of state not of the Council, for certain definite purposes: of these committees one was "for the consideration of all things necessary for the Parliament": of this committee, and of Sir Thomas Smith, a member of it, the Device for the alteration of religion, which we have been reviewing, may be conjectured to have been the work: of another member of the same committee, Gooderick the lawyer, the intelligence was expressed in another remarkable paper concerning "Divers Points of Religion contrary to the Church of Rome."† The royal supremacy was

* Hume says that Elizabeth retained eleven of her sister's councillors, adding eight others. He seems to have founded this upon Strype's list in his *Mem. of Mary* (III. ii. 479), who enumerates thirty-five councillors of Mary, and marks eleven of them as retained by Elizabeth. The list is not quite accurate: as the newly published *Council Acts*, carefully edited by Mr. Dasent, enables us to see. It includes the Earl of Derby and Sir Ric. Sackville, who were new comers; and Sir Thos. Cheney, who was just dead. Sackville was probably mistaken for Sir Ric. Southwell, who was among the extruded ones.

† These committees of Council were five in number: one was for the defence of the north, another to regulate payments: the third for Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight: the fourth was for the purpose quoted in the text, to make recommendations before the meeting of Parliament:

set out in this document according to the ancient principle that the King ought not to be under man, but under God and under law: the process of the appointment of bishops was described: it was denied that papal excommunication was of value in the realm: the continual usurpation of the Pope and the grief of the King and the temporal estates were vigorously displayed in reciting the ancient statutes providing remedy: and the author advised search to be made among the records for further matter.* He esteemed it to be "like peril" to touch or to abolish the usurpa-

this consisted of the Lord Keeper, the Judges, the Sergeants at law, the Attorney, the Solicitor, Sir Thomas Smith, and Mr. Gooderick. The fifth was to enquire into Mary's grants of land: we shall come to that. The committees were formed Dec. 23.—Dasent's *Acts*, p. 27. Cf. Strype's *Ann.* i. 24.

* "Ipse autem rex non debet esse sub homine, sed sub Deo et sub lege, quæ lex facit regem. Attribuat ergo rex legi quod lex attribuit ei, dominationem et potestatem. Non enim dominatur rex ubi dominatur voluntas et non lex, et quod lege esse debeat cum sit Dei Vicarius ad sanctitudinem Jesu Christi cujus vices gerit in terris (Bracton, cap. 2). Besides it seemeth both by the Register and by Sir Antony Fitzherbert, one of the best learned of the law in our time, that Bishops and Abbots which were of the king's foundation (the sees and places destitute and void) were elected and chosen by their convents and chapters by virtue of the king's writ *De Licentia eligendi*, and, after the election made and certified to the king, the king by letters patent gave his royal assent to the election, and then of course went out a writ *De restitutione temporalium*, and this was of ancient used without suit to the Pope. Excommungement was ever in the law a sufficient exception to the person of the plaintiff or demandant so as he (?) was not answerable: but the Defendant for proof of the same is by the law forced to shew letters of excommunication from some ordinary of the realm under his seal: for letters or bulls of the Pope to prove an excommunication alleged against the plaintiff were never allowed nor been allowable in any of the king's courts.

"Further to prove the Pope's curse was not of value in this realm. The Archbishop of Canterbury, with divers other bishops accompanied, in their Pontificalibus solemnly assembled, by authority of Peter and Paul and all the Apostles without any mention of the Pope, did pronounce the great sentence of curse against all them which infringe or put off the Great Charter or the Charter of the Forest made and granted by King Henry III.: which excommunication or curse is inscribed among the

tion; but advised nothing to be attempted before the Parliament, but meantime to dissemble: nor at the Parliament, if it were soon to be holden, to do more statutes and Acts of Parliament made in the time of the said King Henry III.

"It appears also from time to time that as well the King as all the temporal states of the realm were grieved with the continual usurpation of the Pope and his clergy, and for reformation, as they might, they provided remedies ever since that time: as, statutes for alienation to mortmain, præmunire for prevention of benefices, for suits to Rome, or in any spiritual court for matter determinable in the King's courts by the laws of the realm. And yet in all those times it is to be considered that the spirituality were counsellors about the king, and were for the authority and not [*illegible*] the Parliament.

"If search were had amongst the records of the Exchequer of older time, and in the Tower, I think there would be found more matter against the said usurpation.

"My lord Rich hath, I think, old gatherings of records and other matters for the proof of the Papists, for because he was the King's Solicitor at the time the Pope was banished with his authority in the 26 year of King Henry VIII.

"Which matter will be good to stir the nobility and commons to devotion of the liberty of the realm and against the usurpation of the Pope.

"Like peril is it, in mine opinion, to touch his authority in part as utterly to abolish it. Therefore it seemeth very necessary well to consider of this matter for his weight, and for the danger that may ensue before it be meddled either by Parliament or otherwise.

"Besides many other examples, King John, of this realm sometime king, may be a warning: who for his kicking at his authority and dealing with the state of the clergy, was brought into the peril you know, to the danger of his state, the only cause thereof the mighty and princely state of the clergy, which, albeit it be not so strong as it was then, yet considering the time is more dangerous, and they by time grown more malicious and their glorious state more tickle, and by more experience grown more wiser and wiser: without the bridling it may not in mine opinion be attempted. And before the Parliament nothing against him may be attempted, but dissembled withal in the meantime: nor at the Parliament, if it be holden before or in March next, I think his authority not to be touched, nor anything to be attempted there of matters in religion, except the repeal of the Statutes of Henry IV. and V., repealed in the time of King Henry VIII. and revived by Queen Mary, unrepealed: all proceedings by the Bishops *ex officio* shall be thereby taken away, and thereby all quiet persons may live safely. In the meantime her Majesty and all her subjects may by license of law use the English Litany and suffrages used in King Henry's time, and besides her

than repeal the persecuting statutes and stop all proceedings by the bishops *ex officio*: that for the present the service used in the Queen's chapel, the English Litany and suffrages, must suffice all subjects, but that Homilies in English might be prepared, treating of necessary things and not of matters of controversy. He advised that married priests might remain un-

Majesty in her closet may use the Mass without lifting up above the Host according to the ancient Canons, and may also have at every Mass some communicants with the ministers to be used in both kinds.

"Her Majesty may also wink at the married priests, so they use their wives secretly, as some of them did in Queen Mary's time, and suffer them: nay, rather authorise the learned and discreet sort of them to preach the Gospel purely without inveighing against any sect except Anabaptists and Arians.

"It were good also that certain Homilies in English were published, to be read in every church, treating of most necessary matters of our religion plainly and simply, not meddling with any matter in controversy.

"I think it most necessary that, before any pardon published after the old manner at the Coronation, certain of the principal prelates be committed to the Tower, and some other their addicted friends and late counsellors to the Queen that dead is, and all the rest commanded to keep their houses, and that no person other than of the household have any access to them, so as there be exception comprehending all such out of the Pardon.

"Item. That all the arms, weapons and horses which they or any of them have, be taken from them by the most trustiest in every county by bill indented to serve the Queen's Majesty as occasion shall be ministered likewise for all persons of all sorts.

"I would also at that time [*illegible*] the sending to Rome any message or letters, and if [*illegible*] be any, I would have letters sent to the Agent there to continue his residence, and to advertise as occasion shall be given without desire of any audience, and if he should be sent for, that he should signify that he understood from hence that there was a great embassage either already despatched or ready to be despatched for the affairs: whose despatch I would should be published with the persons' names, and yet treated so as it should pass the most part of the next summer: and in the meantime to have good consultation what is to be done at home, and do it: and thereafter send . . ."—*State Pap. Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. i. No. 68: cf. Turnbull's *Cal.*, p. 119. This paper is endorsed by Cecil, "Gooderick, *Divers Points of Religion contrary to the Ch. of Ro.*" It seems not to have been published hitherto. The original is difficult and imperfect. There is a transcript next after in the volume: but this also is imperfect where the other is.

troubled, and the more learned of them be authorised to preach, so that they refrained from inveighing against any sect except Anabaptists and Arians. It gives proof of the hostile determination of the government against the prelates that he recommended that some of them should be imprisoned in the Tower or in their houses, that they might be excepted from the customary pardon at the coming coronation; that their retainers should be disarmed. As to Rome he would dally, keeping the resident there, and through him, if occasion were, giving expectation of a great embassy to arrive.

Of the financial scrutiny, which was set on foot concurrent with the reign, some monuments that remain may be attributed to another of these committees of Council, which was "to understand what lands were granted from the Crown in the late Queen's time." The gifts of Mary to religion and to justice were found to have reached, for a moiety of her reign, the sum total of fifty thousand pounds:* "all this

* I have ventured to associate with this committee of Council a document in the Record Office, *Eliz. Domestic*, i. No. 64, which Turnbull calendars as "Names of noblemen and others attainted in the reigns of H. 8 and Ed. 6, and restored in Queen Mary: of religious houses erected by Mary, of lands given to Card. Pole and abbey lands, and grants from the possessions of attainted persons."—*Cal. Dom.*, p. 119. From this it seems that Bishop White's laudation that "she restored more noble houses decayed than ever did prince of this realm" was well founded; for twenty-two attainted persons were restored by her, and received lands to near ten thousand pounds. The paper, which is of some length, is thus endorsed:

	£
Religious houses restored	3,982
Attainted persons restored	9,776
Gifts of abbey lands	2,794
Gifts of attainted lands	7,456
	<hr/>
	24,008

Given to Card. Pole:

Parsonages impropriate and other tithes . .	10,000
Firstfruits and tenths	15,000

was given in three years," observed the indignant tellers, dividing it into religious houses refounded and attainted persons restored, and discovering that one-fifth of the whole had been granted to Cardinal Pole to remain to the see of Canterbury, and that one-half of the whole consisted of firstfruits and tenths. In remedy active measures were taken. Pole's comptroller, Fortescue, was apprehended;* Pole's papers were seized: Pole's plate, or part of it, was thought meet by the officers of the Jewel House for the use of the Queen; and his executor Priuli was requested to send it thither on sale or return: of Pole's furniture, horses, bedding, and wardrobe, inventories were taken; the manor and park of Canterbury were taken in charge for the Crown.† As to firstfruits and tenths,

Mary's benefactions, however, had drawbacks. As to Pole's portion, the ten thousand here mentioned, Priuli, his executor, affirmed that it was so encumbered with pensions as to leave a deficit, until some of the pensioners died off: when it became possible to levy £8,000 from the property: that this was collected by the bishops and sent to Pole, and was all that ever reached him: that Pole gave it to the Queen for the wants of the war, but that she in compensation made over to the bishops presentations to many rectories in her gift, which they considered of much greater value.—*Ven. Cal.*, p. 1557. Mary's generosity, especially in the point of giving back, I may add, their lands to families that had forfeited them, received a poetical tribute from *Throckmorton's Ghost*, p. 34:

"And sure Queen Mary was most merciful,
Though nursed up in superstition:
Was ever English prince so bountiful
To subjects? Mark her restitution,
Not of their blood alone, but of their lands,
Which thus remained in her princely hands."

* "A letter to the Earl of Rutland, to cause one Fortescue, late comptroller to the late Cardinal, to be apprehended and kept in safe ward in his house, so as to have not conference with any, until he shall further understand from the Lords."—Nov. 22, 1558, *Dasent's Acts*, p. 5.

† These measures were taken partly to help Priuli.—*Acts of Council*, p. 31. I do not know that Pole's executor was unfairly dealt with, or that this has been alleged. "Two days after his death," wrote the Spanish ambassador to Philip, "the Queen sent Rutland, Throckmorton, and the uncle of Peter Carew to embargo his goods, and take an inventory of

letters were issued to all the dioceses to make payment forthwith either to the ministers of the late Cardinal, or to such as should be appointed by the Archbishop of York and the rest of the Council. All rents and other dues that lay at the disposition of the late Cardinal were ordered by proclamation to be paid within a week to the Council's collectors.* In the Queen's necessity, for the mysterious Tudor disease of beggary was reappearing, an interested eye was turned on the vacant bishoprics: for "to survey the office of the Treasurer of the Chamber, and to assign the order of payment" was the specific object of another of the committees of Council: and it may be concluded that it was by that authority that the Treasurer of the Chamber, Sir John Mason, was directed to cause process to be made with all speed for the answering of the temporalities of Canterbury, Norwich, Rochester, Bristol, Oxford, Chichester, Hereford, Salisbury, Gloucester, and Bangor.† To the Treasurer of the Chamber, it was assigned also to extract from the Proctors of the Arches all sums

them, as he was thought a very wealthy man, and must have been so, if he received what they say he did. It was a mercy for God to take him, and I do not think your majesty loses much with him."—*Span. Cal.*, p. 3. He also says that Pole's papers were seized, and that his long apology to the Pope fell into Elizabeth's hands.—*Ib.* pp. 42, 63, 65; cf. Vol. IV. p. 673 *huj. op.* The pathetic letters of Priuli to his brother confirm all this. He says that Pole was reported to have hundreds of thousands of crowns, *Ven. Cal.*, p. 1553; but he shows that on the contrary Pole was poor, *ib.* 1557. The inventories of Pole's goods are calendared in *Domest. Cal.*, pp. 115, 116. The chests and coffers of the late Cardinal were examined by the Custom House, and suffered to pass beyond the sea.—Dasent's *Acts of Council*, p. 72.

* Dasent, pp. 31, 37, 47; Strype, i. 37. Strype has embedded most of the Council Book in his work. There is in the Record Office a letter from Bonner to the Council, acknowledging their order for payment of firstfruits of benefices impropriate within his diocese.—Turnbull's *Cal. Dom.*, p. 120.

† *Acts of Council*, p. 28; Strype, i. 13.

of money that had been levied in the late persecution because of heresy; for though the bodies of heretics might be released, it was a different thing with their fines. For this purpose the Bishop of London was cited to produce before the Council all the Commissions that had been issued for the examination of heresy in the late reign.*

The enlargement of the surviving prisoners for religion was not delayed. By order of the Council eight were released from Colchester Castle, namely, Richard George, John Pilgrim, James Wilson, Elizabeth Young, Alice Mitchell, Christian Cramp, John Host, and Edward Grew: of whom Elizabeth Young was the most notable.† From the gaol of Salisbury “certain poor prisoners committed thither by the Bishop’s officers and others” were ordered to be discharged after enquiry:‡ from Maidstone gaol were discharged four women, Joan Saunders, Agnes Terre,

* “A letter to the Bishop of London to repair hither tomorrow at two of the clock in the afternoon, and at his coming to resort to Mr. Vice-chamberlain’s chamber, and to bring with him all such Commissions as were made to him and others for the examination and ordering of heresies and other misorders in the Church in the time of the late Queen.”—*Acts*, p. 36, or *Strype*, i. 58. In a subsequent entry in the Council Book the Proctors of the Arches, Saye, Warmington, and Babham, are ordered to pay to Mason, the Treasurer of the Chamber, “all such sums of money as remain in their hands of such fines as were levied of divers persons in the time of the late Queen by order of the Bishop of London and other Commissioners for examination of heresies and other misdemeanours in the Church.”—*Acts*, p. 43.

† *Acts*, pp. 26 and 44; *Strype*, i. 38, 39. Fox has given the nine examinations of Elizabeth Young before Bonner and others. She had favour shown her by her last examiner the Dean, who admitted two women to be surety for her, telling her that if they had said earnestly for her so had he; and afterwards discharged her sureties without, apparently, proceeding with her. Fox also mentions the case of Edward Grew, who was a married priest, very old, who had gone from place to place “to keep a good conscience,” that is, probably, to avoid hearing Mass, till at last he was taken and laid in Colchester Castle.

‡ *Acts*, p. 34; *Strype*, i. 38, 39.

Joan Valeant, and Margaret Atterbury.* From the prison of Bury was delivered an ancient matron, Elizabeth Lawson, who had been there nearly three years; and, condemned to be burned, had in the interval endured the burning of her son. A condemned person could not be discharged without sureties: her sureties grew alarmed, and alarmed her, after her discharge; she was about to undertake a journey with a supplication to present to Queen Elizabeth about Christmas, when death broke the bond and stayed the journey.† In the turn of affairs several officials who had been active in the late persecution found themselves consigned to the safe keeping to which they had entrusted others. Francis, the summoner of the Archdeacon of London, Harpsfield, was committed to the Gatehouse at Westminster; Bonner's chaplain, Morwen, was committed to the Fleet.‡ Mountfort and Sabeste, the Commissary and Registrar of the Bishop of Lincoln, were served with letters of appearance. The like befel Harpsfield, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, whose case was more serious.§ Some number of the clergy in different parts of the country were seized for preaching, contrary to the Proclamation, probably against the alteration of religion.|| The Spanish priests and friars began to

* *Acts*, p. 37; *Strype*, i. 39.

† Fox. His phrase is nobler: "God brake the bond and shortened her journey; for He took her home to Himself out of this life in peace."

‡ But Francis was only in prison for two days.—Dasent, *Acts*, pp. 37, 38. Morwen (rather than Murren or Marren) was only in for three weeks. He was released on condition of confessing his contempt, in preaching contrary to the Proclamation, publicly in the church where he committed it.—*Ib.* pp. 59, 67.

§ *Ib.* pp. 50, 51. The well-known Harpsfield, it is said, "hath used himself of late very disorderly in stirring up the people to sedition as much as in him lieth." A servant of Christ Church of Canterbury had said that "religion could not nor should not be altered," &c.—*Ib.* pp. 53, 54.

|| Such cases are in the *Council Book*, Dasent or Strype.

take their departure out of the realm. One of them was arrested at Bristol for unseemly words uttered against the Queen.*

At the same time the wolves of Bishop White began to return. The exiles for religion contained the most weighty names that survived from the persecution: but Horne, Sandys, Parkhurst, or even Jewel or Grindal scarcely compensated such heads as had fallen in the fire. They were of one colour. This colour had grown deeper in their banishment. But they were men of holiness and learning, the most of them: and their early return was welcome to their destitute party in the Church. Among the first to arrive, Sampson, Sandys, Horne, Jewel, Grindal, came from Strasburg by way of Antwerp in midwinter, the frozen Rhine forbidding a nearer passage.† Lever and the colony at Arau were not long behind them.‡ Of the church at Frankfort some came back at once, as Cox and Whitehead; others a little later, Pilkington and Nowell among them. From Geneva about the end of the year came Coverdale, Goodman, and others; and among the learned laymen who now returned home from several places may be mentioned Sir Antony Cook, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir Thomas Wroth, and John Hales. But some of the exiles tarried still in their quarters, to wait the process of events, or to finish the works on which they were engaged. Whittingham, a layman, stayed in Geneva to edit the new translation of the Bible, which issued a year later from the

* Dasent's *Acts of the Council*, p. 63.

† *Zurich Letters*, p. 6; Grindal's *Rem.* 237.

‡ *Ib.* 2nd ser., p. 2. Compare on the subject of the return of the exiles, Strype's *Ann.*, ch. vii; Burnet, iii. 467 *seq.* (Pocock). To Burnet belongs the credit of having first examined the archives of Zurich, where the letters are which the Parker Society published.

press, and is known as the Genevan Version: Fox remained in Basil, labouring at the first, the Latin, publication of his great work: and thus the two books which sank most deeply into the mind of England through the next century and a half were fashioned together. Nor failed the returning wanderers to herald their coming. As Bishop White remarked, they sent before them their tracts and letters, pestilent and horrible. Fox sent a tract in which Germania addressed her sister Anglia with congratulations on the happy change, the ending of the woes of the Church. "I protected your people," Germania said, "flying to me. I opened to them my houses and my churches. I could not adorn them with the riches and splendour that they had at home: but according to my poverty I succoured them. Now may they return from servitude to greater amplitude and liberty." He sent another, a Thanksgiving to Christ, in which, reviewing the newborn gladness, he described the sufferings and distress that were passed. He sent a long epistle to his former pupil, the young Duke of Norfolk, with regard to the hopeful prospect of religion. All these were printed at the press of Operinus.* At the

* Strype, *Ann.*, ch. vii, has given an account of these Latin writings of Fox, with specimens in English. The very solemn "Ad Christum Anglorum exultantium Eucharisticon" contains the following fine but somewhat heated passage: "It was Thy great mercy first, that when we might not be safe at home, Thou wouldest have some haven of refuge lie open to us among Thy German people. But it was greater that, in an unknown tongue, in unknown lands, Thou hast so kindly cherished us and fed us so liberally: since there hath been none of us all that hath not experienced the supplies of Thy Providence after a singular and wonderful manner. But, above all, that is the highest, the chiefest part of our happiness, that commiserating the condition of our deplorable country Thy pity hath changed those most sharp flames of persecution, which otherwise no floods could put out: that Thy merciful Eye knew, saw and looked upon the unworthy butcheries of good men, and their bitter torments: some whereof were spoiled of their goods, others of their

same time, from the same printer there came forth a tract by another eloquent Latinist, Lawrence Humfreys, on the reformation of religion and the supremacy of kings, addressed to the nobility, clergy, and commons of England, dedicated to the Earl of Bedford: which fell in with the work prepared for the Parliament that was soon to meet. To the Queen herself the Genevan translators of the Bible sent a specimen of their work in the Book of Psalms, with a pithy exhortation.*

Before they left their foreign harbours, the exiles endeavoured a reconcilment among themselves of the extravagant contests which they had maintained concerning worship, ceremonies, and the Book of Common Prayer. As they were entering into joy and gladness, it was desirable not to forfeit the precious advantage of unity through fastidious conscience, but settle the grounds of a common conformity, on which they might accept unanimously the expected alteration of religion, wherein to bear their part they were hastening home. They of Geneva, taking the lead, addressed a circular letter to the communities of Frankfort and Arau, to Strasburg, Basil, and Worms; proposing a conference for reconcilment, but at the same time dictating in a general way the model of the continental churches. "After that we heard the joyful tidings of God's grace and favour in the preferment of Queen Elizabeth, we lifted up our voices to our heavenly Father, who not

lives: many afflicted in prisons with hideous cruelties; not a few wasted with famine perished: the faces of some were scratched and torn with the nails of bishops, and their beards half pulled off: some lost their hands, being at the command of the bishops roasted: and many being put alive into the flames were reduced to ashes." It was not at the command of the bishops that Flowers lost his hand, and that is the only instance of mutilation in Fox's *Acts and Monuments*.

* Strype, *Annals*, ch. vii.

only nourished us in our banishment, but heard our prayers and pitied our country. This marvellous benefit overcomes our judgments how to be able worthily to receive it, and give thanks, how best to serve God's glory in this vocation to further the Gospel. Weighing the matter we thought good to have your brotherly conference, that all might agree together, and all together teach and preach that knowledge of God's word which we had learned in our banishment, and have seen in the best reformed churches."* This letter was signed by Goodman, Coverdale, Knox, Whittingham, and seven others, in the name of all. The answer of Arau, which bore the names of Lever and other ministers, was of implicit acceptance: that as they had seen and learned sincere doctrine in the best Reformed Churches, they found the Genevan advice agreeable to their own purpose.† But the answer of Frankfort, written by Pilkington and Nowel among others, was more cautious and independent, more observant of the situation of things, exhibiting the original cause of difference still at work. They told the Genevans that it lay, not with either of them to appoint what ceremonies should be, but with them who should be appointed thereto, and the common assent of Parliament: but that they trusted to see true religion restored, and not to be burdened with unprofitable ceremonies: that they purposed to submit themselves to such orders, not in themselves wicked, as should be established by authority, and they advised the same to others: that as all Reformed Churches differed among themselves in divers ceremonies, and yet agreed in the unity of doctrine, so they saw no inconvenience if they used

* Dec. 15. Troubles at Frankfort: cf. Strype, *Annals*, p. 103.

† Jan. 13. *Ib.*

some ceremonies differs from other Reformed Churches, so that they agreed with them in the chief points of religion: that nevertheless if they found offensive ceremonies intruded on them in England, they would join in brotherly conference and deliberation to be suitors together for the reforming and abolishing of the same. They added that, as to the offences given and taken in time past, there were not more than four left behind who were dwelling there in the time of contention, and only one of the learned sort: and they were sorry that the letter asking for a charitable reconciliation had not come before their departure.*

Nothing came of the efforts of opinionative charity. No conference was held: and the failure forebodes the grave and strange events that were to ensue in time in the history of English religion. For the rest, the exiles came back very learned. They had applied themselves to severe studies in their banishment.† They came back poor; and remained in poverty until provision could be made for them by degrees. But the beneficent revolution itself of their estate, uplifting some of them above the rest to high position, awoke in many of the others spicery of conscience, not envy, but unenvious jealousy: and under this the original difference broke out again. They made their presence felt at once. In their own land they were saluted by the proscript or abscondite; by those who had found safety in the storm by hiding themselves, by passing

* Jan. 3. Strype, *Annals*, p. 103.

† Parker's expression is strong: that they were grown so learned as to blow away the arguments of their adversaries on their return. "Hi se, tanquam divinitus admoniti, toto illo exitioso et sævo Mariæ regno in theologiæ studio contriverunt: et ad secunda feliciaque Elizabethæ tempora reservati, in maximis illis de religione a pontificiis motis controversiis argumenta, quæ pontificii tam nodosa et inexplicabilia putabant, facillime tanquam Divino Spiritu difflexerunt."—*De Antiq.*, p. 535.

from county to county, from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. Of these the most memorable, Matthew Parker, now found to his distress that the Queen had not forgotten her former tutor. Six days before she went to the Tower, Anne Boleyn had given her little daughter into her chaplain's hands with a pathetic injunction: and Doctor Parker, had not been unmindful of the office of a counsellor and religious guide. During the reign of Edward he had been a licensed preacher, and had received several pieces of preferment; of all which he was deprived under Mary. He then went into privacy and poverty, living mostly in a friend's house, with his wife and two children, near Norwich, not without some taste of peril, but in great peace, notwithstanding his low condition. The enforced release from public care gave leisure for study, and to an exercised man of near fifty years renewed the happy careless diligence of youth. "I lived," he said, "so joyful before God in my conscience, and so neither ashamed nor dejected, that the most sweet leisure for study, to which the good Providence of God recalled me, created me much greater and more solid pleasures than that former busy and dangerous kind of living ever pleased me."* Suddenly the storm ceased: the abscondite clerk issued from his lurking-place: and at the same moment was struck with a missive that turned his gaze to a terrifying prospect. He received a letter from the new Lord Keeper, Sir Nicolas Bacon, to come to London at convenient speed. As he made some delay, a second letter from Cecil, Bacon's brother-in-law, bade him hasten, the Queen minding to use his service in matters of importance. A third letter from Bacon followed: and such importunity in such men seemed to imply something high. The vacant mitre

* Strype's *Parker*, vol. i. p. 32.

of Canterbury glittered aloft, afar, though yet unnamed. "My quartan ague forbids me the adventure of the air," he apprehensively responded; "if you mean good to me, procure me not anything above the reach of my ability, to disappoint expectation and cumber my conscience toward God. Fain would I wear out my life in a private state: but still I would not thanklessly pursue peace and not bestow my very small talent. My voice is decayed: nothing would I be better aided than to a small prebend, without charge or cure, to preach in poor destitute parishes and dispense God's word among simple strayed sheep, rather than in great theatrical audiences. Of all places in England I would rather have such a thing as the mastership of Bennet College, in Cambridge, a living of twenty nobles a year, than the deanery of Lincoln of two hundred which I had before. If a weak member of the commonwealth I could do service, it might be there, in that University, now in a state so miserable. I was once nearly named master of Trinity." He came to London: Canterbury was indicated to him. It made him ill. "A dull distemperance set in his head by the dregs of his quartan," and "displeasant cogitations" took away the power of reading, and he went back into the country. "I never intend to be of that order," said he, "and in other furnishing I am too far behind. I had but thirty pounds when I came to London: less now: I am so hurt and decayed in body, that however right fain to serve our sovereign lady, my infirmity will not suffer it. Flying in the night from such as sought me for my peril, I fell from my horse so dangerously that I shall never recover it. I am forced at times to be idle, or to keep my bed." Repeated orders brought him up again to London. He appealed to the Queen herself: but could not shake her purpose, though his

brave and pious resistance lasted great part of a year.* In that interval he was engaged in several pieces of public business, before he became the elect of Canterbury.

The Queen and her realm were at this time under the keen and not very friendly gaze of the resident ambassador of Spain, whose letters to his master give an entertaining though bewildered and prejudiced view of the position of things. To the Count de Feria all appeared to be confusion and ineptitude. "This people," said he, "cannot manage their affairs, they are so headstrong: therefore we must be the more circumspect. We must treat them with cajolery, though one would rather deal with them sword in hand. As soon as they knew that the late Queen was dying they began to treat the images and the religious persons disrespectfully. They wag their tongues against your Highness: that you sent great sums of money out of the country, that you lost Calais, that you killed the late Queen by neglect. The men whom you favoured, as the Controller and Boxal, are as ungrateful as if you had never given them anything. As for this new Queen, she is wedded to the people, thinks as they do, and treats foreigners slightly. She is incomparably more feared than her sister was: she gives her orders and has her way as absolutely as her father had. Parry the Controller, and Cecil, and Bedford govern the kingdom. I cannot tell you how small a party you have here. As for me, they avoid me as if I were the devil. I am so isolated that I am embarrassed to devise means of finding out what is

* The ten letters that passed between Bacon, Cecil, and Parker, and a letter of Parker's to the Queen, are in Burnet's *Coll.*, vol. v. p. 538. The last of them that has a date is May 28, 1559: the letter to Elizabeth seems later. The first is Dec. 9, 1558.

going on. The best thing will be for me to get my foot into the palace, that I may speak to her oftener, for she is fond of arguing. I have seen her twice: once at North's house, and once in that place where the Duke of Somerset lived. As soon as she saw me at North's, she began taking off her glove, for me to kiss her hand. After compliments, I bade her be careful about religious affairs, as they were first and foremost with you. She answered that it would indeed be bad to forget God, who had been so good to her. This seemed an equivocal reply. She told me that whenever anything was to be discussed with me, she would send two of her Council to me. I asked whom. Parry and Cecil: and further she added Admiral Clinton; but that was merely because she thought I was friendly with him. She afterwards said that if I wanted anything I was to speak to her personally. I made an appearance of being highly gratified. It is a feeble foundation, but I was glad nevertheless. I am trying to get a chamber in the palace: but fear they will not give me one, they are so suspicious. Heath, the late Chancellor, told me that not a man dared speak of me. He is a worthy man, but is not in the gang."

"All depends on this woman's marriage," continued the emissary, "and the choice that she may make, whether a subject, or a foreign prince, or your Highness. As to the first I must work on her pride, and get at her Councillors. I fancy I can get at her because it would make her inferior to her sister: and I can tell her that one of the reasons why her sister disliked her was because she feared that she would marry your Highness when she was dead. And so on. Am I to set up you or the Archduke Ferdinand? But we must not have the Pope taking into his head to recall matters

concerning the divorce of King Henry, and causing a defect in the succession of this Queen. That would upset the present state of things. I am afraid, if she send not her obedience to the Pope, or delay so doing, it may be so. The Pope should be sounded. I fear to find this woman married one fine day, and I know nothing about it."

This representative of Spain was reinforced by another, the Bishop of Aquila, who arrived on December 7, bringing a ring for the Queen. "Your Majesty has done me a favour in sending him," remarked De Feria; "he is a man of discretion and virtue, and may help me much. I sent her the ring, and I sent her the two rings that your Majesty gave me belonging to the late Queen: for I know that she is fond of jewelry. With these and other gifts I never saw her so carried away as the last time that I spoke to her. She was full of fine words to me. But I never have seen her that the presence chamber was not crammed with people. There are other ambassadors at her besides me. As for getting a room in the palace (of which I wrote before) I tried to arrange it in a friendly way with two of them, without bringing it before the Council; but these people are so villainously contrary, they must all needs meet and have the question discussed, and then the Queen sent me a message by one of them that she was astonished at my asking such a thing. I sent the Bishop to Cecil about it, and Cecil said that as the Queen was unmarried, I might be one of her suitors! Later I heard through the Bishop that she was much pleased with my message to her, and would give me audience as often as I would, either alone or with some of her Council. I advise you to go on paying the pensions of those who have received hitherto: she has consented

to this, though not at the first asking. Pay them to the end of the year: and afterwards keep on those that will be useful. Cecil should have a thousand crowns: Lord Robert Dudley and Bedford the same. Pembroke should, I think, be paid. Paget and the Admiral, Clinton, have been told that they shall still receive their secret pensions. I told the Chamberlain, William Howard, that you would continue his pension, and that no one need know of it, and he accepted with his usual profusion of thanks. He is to be sent out to you, but for what I know not, so carefully things are concealed from me. When you send Doctor Wotton home, send him in good humour with a pension. He is likely to be made Archbishop of Canterbury."

The King of Spain applauded his diligent envoy. "I am resolved," said he, "to offer to marry the Queen of England; but the first condition is that you satisfy yourself that she will profess the same religion that I do, which is the same that I shall ever hold: that she will persevere in it, and uphold it in the country, and with this end do all that may seem necessary to me. She will have to obtain secret absolution from the Pope, and the necessary dispensation, so that when I marry her she will be a Catholic, which she has not been hitherto. Thus it will be evident that in marrying her I am serving the Lord, and that she has been converted by my act." But England had already experience of papal dispensations of matrimony.*

* The letters which I have combined are in the invaluable *Spanish Calendar* of the year, pp. 1-22. De Feria's own marriage with Jane Dormer took place Dec. 29.

CHAPTER XXXII.

A.D. 1559.

FEASTS, dances, and pageants, of some of which a whisper was heard, passed the time from the new year to the coronation of Elizabeth. The hopes of the Romanensian party grew fainter. The Spanish and Venetian ambassadors sent home dismal relations of their ceremonial conversations with a woman who baffled and braved them. To one of them who expostulated with her for fostering heresy, she calmly replied, "I am a heretic." Thus she accepted, not without righteous scorn, the name, the abuse of which by modern Rome is the most tragical thing in history. On the first day of January the English Service came into use, so far as the Proclamation allowed; the English Litany was said in most of the churches in the city, and the Epistle and Gospel were read in English in the celebration of Mass. Some days after this the image of Thomas Becket over the door of Mercers' Chapel was found cast down and broken, and a writing on the door defied and depraved those who had set it up.*

* "You will have heard of the farce performed in the presence of her Majesty on the day of the Epiphany, and I not having sufficient intellect to interpret it, nor yet the mummary performed after supper on the same day, of crows in the habit of cardinals, of asses habited as bishops, and of wolves representing abbots, I will consign it to silence: as also the new commencement of ritual made in her Majesty's Chapel with the English

On January 12 the Queen passed from Westminster to the Tower; from the Tower to Westminster on the 14th: by the river, through the city: in splendid progresses. The florid imagination of the age expended itself in pomps, shows, and allegorical devices. The air rang with shouts, music, and peals of ordnance; the people crowded upon her so that her course was at times incommoded. Her demeanour enchanted them. She took particular notice of everything, "with many witty formalities of speech." According to the pageants her looks varied. Here a fair child, on a stage of flowers, pronounced a welcome in verse, and "her rejoicing visage declared that the words took their place in her mind." There Time and Truth were represented; "Time," said she, "has brought me here"; and when Truth let down the Bible by a silken string into her chariot, "she kissed both her hands, with both her hands she received it: she kissed it: she applied it to her breast: and lastly held it up, thanking the city especially for that gift, and promising to be a diligent reader thereof." An old man wept: "It is for joy," said she. She smiled when one in the crowd said that he remembered old Harry the Eighth, and she repeated the words. When the Recorder asked her to be a gracious mistress to the city, she replied that she was bound in a natural obligation so to be, with earnest words. Having passed a pageant without fully inspecting it, she backed her horses for better sight and hearing, fairly intreating

Litanies, which omit St. Mary and all the Saints, the Pope, and the Dead. Nor will I record the levities and unusual licentiousness practised at the Court in dances and banquets; nor the masquerade of friars in the streets of London; nor the statue of St. Thomas stoned and beheaded, which is now thrown down entirely, and the stucco statue of a little girl placed in its stead."—*Ven. Cal.*, p. 11. Cf. Wriothesley, 143; Strype, i. 48, 49.

the people to be silent while the allegory expounded itself. As she passed through Temple Bar she bade the people farewell with the words, "Be ye well assured I will stand your good queen."* On the next day, Sunday, January 15, she was crowned in Westminster Abbey.

It has been said that it was difficult to find a bishop to crown her. The bishops, it has been repeatedly asserted, alarmed by the Queen's proceedings, gathered themselves in London and unanimously agreed that they could not officiate at the coronation of a sovereign who might be likely to mutilate the service, and either evade or break the oath which she was to take, so far as it concerned the Church. The story goes on that considerable embarrassment was created by their unexpected determination: that after many expedients and suggestions one prelate was at last induced to separate himself from his brethren, and undertake the office which they steadfastly refused; but that not even Oglethorpe of Carlisle would have yielded unless the Queen had been compelled to go through all the rites, and to take the accustomed oath: and that the rest of the prelates were absent from the scene where he performed his part. But such conduct, both dangerous and foolish, is not probable. The selection of Oglethorpe, it is more likely, arose from the poverty of the bench, and was determined by his familiarity with the Queen's Chapel. "That accursed Cardinal," I quote the language of the Spanish ambassador concerning Pole, "left twelve bishoprics to be filled":†

* Holinshed, iv. 167, ed. 1808; Hayward, 14; Wriothesley, 143; Strickland. But perhaps the best account is in the *Venetian Calendar*.

† *Spanish Calend.*, p. 32. De Feria, when he spoke thus, forgot that these vacancies befel very shortly before the death of Pole himself. He inveighs in a following letter against "the disaffection and deceit" of the Cardinal.—*Ib.* p. 33. No one who can read character would impute such

the number of vacant sees had been advanced by death since his death : of the rest, some of the greatest were filled by incumbents who were ineligible or out of favour : to a remote northern bishop the lot seems to have fallen almost by devolution. As for the rest of the story, it is certain that the other bishops were present in their robes.*

qualities. Pole's defect was not deceit, but incurable weakness. Modern Romanists write as if his conduct had been unquestioned and admired at Rome from first to last ; but we may say here how bitterly both Rome and Spain were disappointed in him.

* Lingard gives this story in full (vi. 9). It is one of those passages in which that conscientious but sometimes hard bestead historian gives no authority. Dodd and Tierney have the same story, ii. 125. Camden has it. Heylin, Collier, and Burnet repeat it. The only authority for it, known to these writers, was Allen, who, in his *Answer to English Justice*, says that Heath "worthily, and as became his Excellency, refused to anoint or crown the Queen's Majesty that now is . . and so did all the rest of the bishops, till with much ado they obtained the Bishop of Carlisle, the inferior almost of all the rest, to do that function" (p. 50). He gives for the reason "that they had evident probabilities and arguments to doubt that she meant either not to take the oath, or not to keep the same, which all Christian kings (and specially ours in England) do make in their coronation, for maintenance of Holy Church's laws, honours, peace, and privileges, and other duties due to every state, as in the time and grant of King Edward the Confessor. They doubted also lest she would refuse, in the very time of her sacre, the solemn divine ceremony of unction." Allen's book was written twenty-four years after the event, and, as Twysden remarks (*Hist. Vindication*, 127), the motives he imputes to the bishops were "certainly without any colour, and framed since." The story has been recently repeated by Mr. Bridgett, in his *True Story of the Catholic Hierarchy*, p. 17, who says, "Knowing what was coming, the bishops all refused to perform the ceremony of the coronation." Mr. Bridgett quotes Allen, and adds to him a letter of 1561, from Sanders to Card. Morone, from a Vatican MS., in which it is said that Heath refused, because he had heard that the ceremony was to be done in a schismatical manner : that many other bishops also refused, and that at last the Bishop of Carlisle undertook it, not as a favourer of heresy, but to leave the Queen no excuse for overthrowing religion : things not being at the time so desperate but that she might be turned from her purpose : that "the rest of the bishops assisted at the anointing." This goes far to dissolve the story, which is reduced to this, not that all the bishops but one were absent from the ceremony ; but that one only could be induced to crown the Queen. It will be seen anon that there is no doubt but that the

The Hall was decorated with tapestries, the work of Raphael, the purchase of Henry the Eighth, representing on one side the Book of Genesis, on the other the Acts of the Apostles. There waited all the bishops in scarlet, in cope and mitre; there waited the Queen's Chapel with three crosses. On the arrival of the royal train the Queen was incensed, the holy water and the Pax were given her by Archbishop Heath and another bishop, who received her under a canopy, the choir singing "Salve festa dies." The splendid procession—lords and knights bearing swords, sceptres, crowns, symbolical of the majesty of the English realm; ladies wondrously apparelled, with their coronets on their heads—marched thence on purple cloth spread along the ground to the Abbey, the cloth on which they walked being cut away, as they passed, by them

bishops, probably all of them, were present. And furthermore it is not unlikely that the one who crowned the Queen was the first who was asked to do it; in which case the story vanishes altogether. Soames, who appears to discredit the story entirely, remarks that, granting that Heath, who had lately resigned the Great Seal, may have refused under some disgust, the only other sees that had any right to claim precedence over any other see were London, Durham, and Winchester: and that while Bonner and White were too unacceptable, Tunstall was too old (*Reformation*, iv. 617). It may have been that Heath was passed over from the first, to save him the pain of either refusing or complying. He was not in disgrace or disgust when he resigned the seal, for he has left a grateful letter about the Queen's personal kindness to him on the occasion.—Bridgett's *True Story*, p. 111. He was, in fact, a personal friend of the Queen. It may be added that the original of Lingard, and of others, was Sanders, in his *De Schismate*. That well-known work was published in 1585, a year or two later than Allen's *Answer to English Justice*, but probably written much earlier. He says, like Lingard, that the bishops were alarmed by the Proclamation to forbid preaching (partly caused by Christopherson and White), and by the Queen's refusal to allow elevation in the Mass; that Heath, to whom it pertained in the vacancy of Canterbury to anoint and consecrate the Queen, refused: "negarent quoque cæteri episcopi, præter unum, eumque pene ultimum, omnes." Then he gives a story of his fastidiousness about the smell of the oil when she was anointed, p. 355 (ed. 1628).

that could get it. The Queen on her arrival, all the bells ringing, ascended a lofty tribune between the altar and the choir, and as she showed herself to the people it was demanded whether they would have her to be their crowned queen. The universal "Yes" was swallowed in the thunder of organs, fifes, trumpets, and drums; it seemed that the world was coming to an end. Descending, the Queen placed herself beneath her royal canopy, and the Mass was begun.* No bishop would celebrate without the elevation; the Mass was therefore chanted, without the elevation, by the Dean of the Chapel Royal, the Queen's chaplain; and the Epistle and Gospel were read in English.† After the Epistle, the Bishop of Carlisle, enrobed in the pontifical robes which had been borrowed from Bonner,‡ performed the coronation with the usual

* "All the bishops in scarlet, and the Queen, and the footmen waiting upon the Queen in Westminster Hall: there met all the bishops and all the chapel with three crosses, and in their copes, the bishops mitred, and singing *salve festa dies*: and all the street laid with gravel and blue cloth unto the abbey, and railed on every side; and so to the abbey to mass, and there her grace was crowned."—Machyn, 187. The other particulars are from the *Venetian Calendar*, p. 16.

† The *Venetian Calendar* says that it was not only without elevation, but without consecration, which is incredible. "The bishops not having chosen to say Mass without elevating the Host or consecrating it, as that worthy individual did" (p. 17). A letter of the Spanish ambassador, De Feria, in which he described the coronation, is unfortunately not extant: but in a subsequent letter he says that Elizabeth did not receive on that day: but he also mentions a very different report. "By last post I wrote to your Majesty that I had been told that the Queen took the Holy Sacrament *sub utraque specie* on the day of the coronation: but it was all nonsense. She did not take it at all" (p. 25). De Feria, it may be remarked, was not present, but staying away with indignation. So he was not an eyewitness.

‡ "A letter to the Bishop of London to lend to the Bishop of Carlisle, who is appointed to execute the solemnity of the Queen's Majesty's coronation, universum apparatus pontificium quo uti solent Episcopi in hujusmodi magnificis illustrissimorum regum inaugurationibus."—*Acts of Privy Council*, p. 42.

ceremonies, and administered the customary oath.* The Queen and Court then returned to the Hall, the bishops and clergy remaining in the Abbey. She had changed her apparel, and issued forth wearing the ample royal robe of cloth of gold, carrying in her hands the orb and sceptre. Her smile was universal; she gave a thousand greetings, and in her demeanour appeared to the Venetian ambassador to exceed the bounds of gravity.† A stately and protracted banquet ended that day and began the next.

Ten days after her coronation Elizabeth returned to Westminster to open her first Parliament. The two Houses assembled themselves within the Abbey to hear the accustomed Mass of the Holy Ghost, but found that the Mass had been sung early that morning, without the elevation.‡ The Queen arrived at the

* "After the Epistle, the Bishop of Carlisle commenced the coronation according to the Roman ceremonial, neither altering nor omitting anything but the outward forms, which were not observed as in Italy: the English having no masters of the ceremonies, except the Kings at arms, and still less caring about formalities."—*Ven. Cal.* 17. It is evident from this that she was crowned according to the old English Latin pontifical, with nothing particularly Roman or Italian in it. As to the oath, which she took, containing that she would uphold the rights of the Church, we cannot suppose the bishops so foolish as to determine their action by their apprehensions. Compare Strype, *Annals*, i. 73. They are said, on Allen's authority, also to have feared that she would have refused to be anointed. But she did not, though there is a story of her bidding her ladies run away, when she came near them, because of the smell of the oil. The anointing was with the chrism, or oil consecrated the same day, not the oil of catechumens. It conveyed spiritual gifts, rendering the head of the state capable of ecclesiastical office as a *persona mixta*. It is said that the English sovereign and the Czar of Russia are the only crowned heads that are anointed with the chrism.—See *The Times*, June 25, 1896. It is probable that the only objection that the bishops had was to celebrate without elevation. C. Butler, who has repeated Allen's allegations, brings nothing to support them.—*Histor. Mem. of Eng. Cath.* i. 270. Cf. Soames, *Ref.* iv. 618.

† *Ven. Cal.* 17.

‡ Perhaps this omission of the Mass, which is recorded in the *Ven. Calendar* (p. 23), was not significant. The Houses had been summoned

Abbey after a midday dinner in her ordinary open litter, accompanied by the Court in their coronation robes. She had been turning and smiling to the people, with "Gramercy, good people," all the way, in answer to shouts of "God save and maintain thee." The bishops were in her train.* At the Abbey door the Abbot Feckenham, with all his monks in procession, each having a lighted torch in his hand, received her with incense and holy water; but when she saw the torches she exclaimed, "Away with those torches, for we see very well." Her choristers uplifted the Litany in English, and she was accompanied to the high altar under her canopy. Not a bishop, but a returned exile ascended the pulpit: not an indifferently chosen returned exile, but he who had been Dean of Westminster before Feckenham was abbot, whom Feckenham had displaced: not any other pulpit ascended he than that from which a little time ago had sounded from the lips of Bishop White of Winchester the funeral oration of Mary: and both White and Feckenham were compelled to abide the eloquence of Doctor Cox.† The conqueror of Frankfort and of Knox was equal to himself. For an hour and a half he held the audience spellbound, denouncing the iniquities of monks, and the persecution in which so many innocent persons had been burned under pretence of heresy; praising the Queen and exhorting her no longer to tolerate the past iniquities, but to put

to meet two days before, on the 23rd, and had been deferred because of an indisposition of Elizabeth.

* She was "attended by all the gentlemen both of the Court and of other conditions, and by all the peers in their coronation robes, and including spiritual and temporal, titled and untitled (they were about 46), in her ordinary litter," &c.—*Ven. Cal.*, p. 22.

† As White was in the House of Lords directly afterwards, I venture to think he was in the Abbey.

down images and monasteries.* At the end of this sermon, the Queen proceeded to the House of Lords, and the business of the Session was begun by the new Lord Chancellor Bacon in an elaborate oration, dealing with three great matters, the reformation of religion, the mitigation of the penal laws, the supplies. He exhorted to uniformity, spoke in a masterly manner of the imperfection and abuse of laws, and lamented the necessities of the sovereign whose graces he was insufficient to extol.† To the measures to be taken for such a settlement he seemed to predict opposition when he deprecated contumelious words, as heretic, schismatic, papist, which he termed the nurses of seditious factions and sects. He seemed to indicate the sort of opposition to be feared when he exhorted them in that assembly to avoid "all sophistical, captious, and frivolous arguments and quiddities, meeter for ostentation of wit than consultation of weighty matters,

* The *Venetian Calendar* (p. 23) says that Cox exhorted her "to destroy the images of the saints, the churches, the monasteries, and all other things dedicated to divine worship: proving, by his own arguments, that it is a very great impiety and idolatry to endure them; and saying many other things against the Christian religion." But this is altogether too much.

† "Having made a reverence to the Queen, he delivered an eloquent speech, alluding to three essential points: the first, *Pro reformanda religione et tollenda idolatria*: the second, *Pro mitigandis nonnullis legibus penalibus*: the third, *Pro petendo subsidio contra hostes*."—*Ven. Cal.* 23. Sir Simonds D'Ewes gives Bacon's speech at length, apparently from a Cotton MS. But it seems to be trimmed up in some way, as if by a pen of a later age. According to him, Bacon laid down his three points thus: "The first is of well making of laws for the according and uniting of these people of the realm into an uniform order of religion, to the honour and glory of God, the establishing of the Church, and tranquillity of the realm: the second for the reforming and removing of all enormities and mischiefs that might hurt or hinder the civil orders and policies of the realm: the third is, advisedly and deeply to weigh and consider the estate and condition of the realm, and the losses and decays that have happened of late to the imperial crown thereof, and to devise the best remedies."—*Parliaments of Eliz.*, p. 11.

comelier for scholars than counsellors, more beseeeming for schools than for parliament houses." The Parliament which was opened with this preamble recovered tenths and firstfruits to the Crown, declared the royal supremacy in a new statute, expelled the Pope once more from England, was illustrated by the arguments of prelates, and was suspended to listen to a theological debate in Westminster Abbey. It was accompanied by a remarkable Convocation: it was dissolved in May.

No Tudor House of Commons but was packed: this was an assembly of nominees of the Crown.* The first thing that it did was to restore firstfruits and tenths, and the patronage of all impropriate livings to the Crown, and to erect again the Courts of Firstfruits and Augmentations, undoing the righteous work of Mary in a very hypocritical strain. They preluded that they "conceived at the bottom of their hearts great sorrow and heaviness when they called to remembrance the huge, innumerable and inestimable

* "It appears that some violence, at least according to our present ideas, was used in these elections; five candidates were nominated by the Court to each borough, and three to each county: and by the sheriff's authority the members were chosen from among these candidates."—Hume. The Returns preserved for this Parliament are very imperfect, as compared with the Returns preserved of the last Parliament of Mary. No returns whatever are extant for nine shires: Cornwall, Cumberland, Derby, Devon, Notts, Rutland, Warwick, Carnarvon, Denbigh. For five there are only borough returns, not county: Berks, Gloucester, Kent, Northumberland, Suffolk. Of borough returns there are more than sixty lacking. But from the extant minutes we may gather that sweeping changes were made. Of all who sat in Mary's last Parliament about fifty-three are known to have sat in Elizabeth's first. Among them were Sir W. Petre, Sir Walt. Mildmay, Sir Jn. Mason, Sir Rog. Cholmeley, Sir Thos. Wroth, and Sir W. Fitzwilliams. Of those who were not again seen, were Sir H. Jermingham and Mr. Tyrrell of Essex. Among new members were Sir Ant. Cook, Sir Thos. Smith, Sir Francis Knowles, Sir Rd. Sackville, Thomas Sackville the poet, Sir William Cecil, Sir Thos. Gargrave of York, who was Speaker.—*Return of Members of Parliament*, Part I, p. 400.

charges of the royal estate and imperial crown of this realm": that her Majesty's dearest sister the late Queen had restored goods to the Church "upon certain zealous and inconvenient respects, not sufficiently nor politicly enough weighing the matter." All the bishops present and an abbot, Feckenham, were dissentient from this Act: the puisne Bishop of Carlisle, and in ascending order the Bishops of Chester, Exeter, Coventry, Llandaff, Worcester, London, and York: all lay lords were for it.* Another Act supplemented or developed it, enabling the Queen, whose necessities were again deplored, to take in possession on every avoidance as much of the lands of the see as the yearly value of her tenths and impropriate parsonages within the see came to. This measure is reckoned a great starting-point in ecclesiastical property. It went through the Commons with difficulty late in the Session.† The next necessity was the recognition of the Queen's title, a declaration that she was the heir to the crown, lawfully descended from the blood royal. In this neither was the validity of Anne Boleyn's marriage affirmed, nor the former Act against the legitimacy of Anne Boleyn's daughter repealed: dignity was consulted by neither reflecting implicitly in such a manner on the memory of the father nor on the birth of the sister of the Queen: the assembly was spared the pain of censuring the work of predecessors, and the adhesion of the bishops was secured.‡

* 1 Eliz. c. 4. D'Ewes.

† 1 Eliz. c. 19. "With the bill, a hundred and thirty-four, and against the bill, ninety."—*Id.* In its last section it stopped bishops from granting lands to any but the Crown, except by leases for three lives, or twenty-one years. Hitherto they had power to lease or alienate to any extent otherwise.

‡ Camden remarks that the Act of Henry the Eighth excluding both

Another Act made it treason to depose the Queen ; another extended to freedom of speech against her the same penalties of pillory, loss of ears, loss of hand, which had been ordained for the protection of Philip and Mary.*

Another, a private Act of Elizabeth's first Parliament, annexing again to the Crown the religious houses refounded so laboriously by Mary, the inhabitants began to disperse, and the final dissolution of the monasteries occupied the summer. Pensions awaited those who would renounce their profession and accept the Oath against foreign jurisdiction : but some departed, some passed the seas, before the application of the statute.† The Spanish ambassador, De Feria, who quitted the country in May, in his final interview with the Queen pathetically requested as a parting gift a passport to carry them all with him to Flanders:‡ but, instead of a train of monks, nuns, and friars, he bore away a beautiful English bride : and after his departure the Queen's concession was limited to those

his daughters from the succession, which Mary got repealed so far as it concerned her, remained unrepealed now : and that this was, in some men's judgment, a great flaw in Bacon's politics, whom the Queen relied on as the very oracle of law : though others commended Bacon's wisdom, who rather referred to the Succession Act, 35 Henry VIII, in which both his daughters were included. As to the bishops, "Observe that here the bishops did not dissent."—*Strype, Ann. i. 83.*

* 1 Eliz. c. 5 and 6.

† "Parliament will rise this week, the two Houses having enacted that all the convents and monasteries of friars, monks, nuns, and Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem are to be suppressed as heretofore, and all these religious to be expelled. Such of them who will take the oath against the Pontifical authority, and approve the new laws, abjuring their own professions, are to receive pensions for their maintenance : but the greater part of them have left the kingdom in order not to take such oath."—*Ven. Cal. p. 79.* The Act is 1 Eliz. c. 20, among the private Acts.

‡ "He asked of her as a special favour, instead of gifts, a passport for passage to Flanders of all the monks, friars and nuns now here."—*Ib. p. 93.*

religious persons who had been living in the time of the great suppression of monasteries, of whom but few were left. The greater part of the rest remained in the kingdom.* The Black monks of Westminster were said to have "changed their coats," the most of them, by the end of May.† Their abbot Feckenham, a man of wealth and benevolence, passed into private life, spreading benefits wherever he dwelt. The Friars Observants of Greenwich were discharged in June; in July the Black Friars of Smithfield, the nuns of Sion, and the monks of the Charterhouse.‡ So passed away the last survivors of the religious life in England.

The great religious enactments of this Parliament, the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, vast and permanent, the base of the whole ecclesiastical legislation of the reign,§ took their beginning in the House of Commons. The House prepared itself by religious exercises. On Ash Wednesday, February 8, they adjourned to hear a sermon which was preached before the Court by the favourite orator Doctor Cox.|| On the following Saturday, the English Litany was said by the Clerk of the House kneeling, and answered by the whole House on their knees with divers

* "Since his departure this concession has been limited to those who were in being at the time of the other schism, and who are very few in number."—*Ven. Cal.* 95.

† *Foreign Cal.* 288.

‡ Machyn, 204. Some of them seem to have been helped to get abroad by the Spanish embassy.—*Span. Cal.* 77.

§ "The statutes passed in it are remarkable for their comprehensive, as well as their permanent, character, embracing the whole subject of the ecclesiastical constitution, and remaining, in all but one important matter, practically in force until the present century."—Bishop Stubbs, *Append. Ecclesiast. Courts Commission Report*, p. 44.

|| "The House was adjourned because the morrow following, being Ash Wednesday, there was a sermon to be preached at the Court before the Queen, at which, as it should seem, the greatest part of the House desired to be present."—D'Ewes, p. 45. That the preacher was Cox

prayers.* The next time that they met, Monday, February 13, they had the second reading of the first draft of a Bill "for annexing the Supremacy to the Crown." A great debate ensued, and the Bill was dashed: a new Bill was drawn, and after many arguments passed the House, February 25. This was the Act which stands among statutes with the title of "An Act to restore to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same." It repealed the great statute of Philip and Mary which revived the papal jurisdiction; † by which it said that "the subjects were eftsoons brought under an usurped foreign power and authority, and did yet remain in that bondage." It repealed the re-enacted statutes of heresy of the same reign. It revived ten great statutes of Henry the Eighth specifically: ‡ and on the other hand it confirmed the repeal of all the other laws of Henry which had been repealed by Philip and Mary. The effect of this confirmation of repeal was to annul the title of Supreme Head, and

appears from Machyn, 189. Well might that exultant divine exclaim: "We are thundering in pulpits, especially before our Queen Elizabeth, that the Roman pontiff is truly Antichrist, and that traditions are for the most part mere blasphemies."—*Zurich Letters*, i. 27.

* D'Ewes.

† 1 and 2 Phil. and Mar. c. 8.

‡ Acts specifically revived by 1 Eliz. c. 1:

23	Henry VIII. c. 9, Citations (vol. i. 128 <i>huj. op.</i>).
23	— 20, Annates (vol. i. 136 <i>huj. op.</i>).
24	— 12, Appeals (vol. i. 145 <i>huj. op.</i>).
25	— 19, Submission (vol. i. 189 <i>huj. op.</i>).
25	— 20, Consecration (vol. i. 181 <i>huj. op.</i>).
25	— 21, Dispensations (vol. i. 183 <i>huj. op.</i>).
26	— 14, Suffragans (vol. i. 232 <i>huj. op.</i>).
28	— 16, Dispensations (vol. i. 393 <i>huj. op.</i>).
32	— 38, Precontracts.
37	— 17, That married men might be ecclesiastical judges (vol. ii. 383 <i>huj. op.</i>).

at the same time to render necessary some new machinery to secure the royal supremacy in things ecclesiastical. Supreme Head died irksomely. Not having been assumed by the Queen in the writs for this Parliament, the first question that engaged the Commons when they met was whether through this omission the writs had been well issued and the Parliament were to be held.* They decided it on the precedent of Mary's own Parliaments, which had been well summoned, though Mary latterly omitted the title; and they silently dismissed the tasteless denomination which has done so much to perplex history.† They proceeded to abolish all usurped and foreign

* "In the said Writ it is to be noted that the words *Supremum Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* were wanting, which had been omitted also in the foregoing Parliament of her sister Mary: which notwithstanding it was afterwards agreed in the House, on Friday the third day of February following, that the Writs of Summons were well sent forth and returned, and that the Parliament ought to hold accordingly."—D'Ewes, p. 38. A committee of twenty-four was appointed, Jan. 30, "for the validity as well of the Parliaments lately had, as this Parliament, lacking in the Writ of Summons *Supremum Caput*."—*Com. Journ.* i. 53. "Mr. Carell on behalf of the Committee for the validity aforesaid reported them, after consultation, to agree the lack of these words *Supremum Caput* not to hinder anything or let the validity of those of this Parliament."—Feb. 3, *ib.*

† It has been denied, or questioned, whether Supreme Head were ever repealed. It was. The Act for it (26 H. VIII. c. 1) was repealed by 1 Phil. and Mary, c. 8, § 12; and as this Act was not among the statutes of Henry that were specifically revived in 1 Eliz. c. 1, the repeal of it stands confirmed. "All other laws and statutes repealed by the Act of repeal made in the time of the late King Philip and Queen Mary, and not in this present Act specially mentioned and revived, shall stand, remain, and be repealed and void." So said Elizabeth's Parliament in their Act (§ 13). To the same effect Bishop Stubbs remarks (*Appendix to the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission Report*, p. 44) that the repeal of 1 Phil. and Mary, c. 8, "does not carry the revival of the statutes which are not specified, and which therefore stand repealed." And again, "the effect of omitting the revival of 26 H. VIII. c. 1, was the abolition of the royal claim to the title of Supreme Head as affirmed by Act of Parliament."—*Ibid.*

jurisdiction, to unite to the Crown all jurisdiction visitatorial or corrective that had been or might lawfully be exercised by any spiritual power or authority, and to authorise the Queen to exercise by commissioners, whom she might assign, the power thus recognised. The commissioners, who might be appointed, were to adjudge no matter to be heresy but upon the authority of the canonical Scriptures, of the first four general councils, of any other general council acting on the plain words of the canonical Scriptures, or such matter as should thereafter be determined to be heresy by the High Court of Parliament with the assent of the clergy in Convocation. Such was the origin of the celebrated Court of High Commission. This statute was penal; it made maintenance of foreign authority treason for the third offence. It contained a form of Oath in which the Queen was acknowledged, more properly than Supreme Head, Supreme Governor of the realm as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as in temporal. This Oath, which was presently to play an important part in history, simply denied the jurisdiction of any foreign power or person, without mention of the Bishop of Rome.* It may be added that the Act ended with a provision for a pending appeal to Rome "from a pretended sentence given in consistory in Pauls" by Pole's judges delegate by legatine authority—a matrimonial cause—which was characteristically settled thus: If Rome gave answer

* "That the Queen's highness is the only Supreme governor of this realm . . . as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal: and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual within this realm: and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities," &c. This Oath was inserted in the Ordinal in Elizabeth's Prayer Book. (See below.)

within threescore days, Rome's answer should be allowed to supersede Pole's sentence, and stand good: but if Rome gave no answer within threescore days, Richard and Agnes might transfer their appeal against Pole's sentence to the court of the archbishop within the realm.

The other main statute of this Parliament, the Act for Uniformity, restored the English Service of King Edward the Sixth with a few specified alterations. It was brought into the Commons January 20, by which time it may perhaps be concluded that the revision of the Book of Common Prayer had been finished in Sir Thomas Smith's house:* it was expedited in about three months. This Act was made, the most part, out of the two former Acts for Uniformity. Of the first of Edward, which was clerical as to penalties (the reader may be reminded), and trod on the layman only who openly depraved the English Service by interludes, ballads, or contemptuous words: of the second of Edward, which extended penalty to all lay people whatever offending, whether they merely refused to come to their churches, or were present at any other form of service. Skill, prudence, and severity marked the combination. As to the clergy, the penalties laid against them remained unaltered, since it was scarcely possible to increase them: as to the open depravers, the fines of ten and twenty pounds for the first and second offences were raised enormously, to one hundred and four hundred marks; it was

* See last chapter. It may perhaps be concluded that on Feb. 16 the Prayer Book itself of Elizabeth's revision was brought into the House of Commons, for we read under that date the entry "The Book for Common Prayer and Ministration of Sacraments."—*Commons' Journal*, 54. The Bill concerning it was read for the first time April 18, where we read "The Bill for the Unity of Service of the Church and Ministration of Sacraments."—*Id.* 60.

scarcely possible to increase the penalty of the third. But the simple layman who would not go to church found himself also in harder case than before. By Edward's second Act for Uniformity he was liable to ecclesiastical censures: by this Act he was made liable furthermore to a fine of a shilling a Sunday, an abominable exaction.* On the other hand he was not pursued so far by this Act as by Edward's Act if he chose to frequent some other manner of service; for such an offence was not named, he was not pursued to his conventicle, if he had one, but the clauses of Edward's Act in that behalf were omitted. If the significancy of this had been perceived, if it had become known on all sides that the layman might go where he would on other days, provided that he went to his church on Sundays and holy days, it might have made a difference in history. The ordinaries and the justices were conjoined, as before, in the execution of these various enactments; and the solemn adjuration, which Edward's latter Act contains, of the Queen, the Lords temporal, and the Commons to the archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries to do their duty, was repeated.† It has caused some searchings of heart: nor less the following clause, also

* Cf. Vol. III. pp. 3 and 432 of this work.

† "And for due execution hereof the Queen's most excellent Maj., the lords temporal and all the commons in this present Parliament assembled, do in God's name earnestly require and charge all the archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, that they shall endeavour themselves to the uttermost of their knowledges that the due and true execution hereof may be had throughout their dioceses and charges, as they will answer before God for such evils and plagues wherewith Almighty God may justly punish His people for neglecting this good and wholesome law."—1 Eliz. c. 2, § 15, from 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1, § 2. It would have been more respectful to the spirituality, and more usual, for the Queen alone to have charged them, or in chief. In a former clause of this same Act it is so: "And be it enacted by the Queen's highness, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled," &c., § 3.

borrowed from Edward, in which the ordinaries were empowered under the same authority "by this Act to reform and punish by censures of the Church."* The purport of the Act was to restore the Second Prayer Book, the Book that was "Authorised by Parliament in the fifth and sixth year" of the reign of Edward. The various services and offices were ordered to be said and used in the manner and form of the Second Book: but my reader may remind himself that if this third Act for Uniformity restored the Second Book of Edward, the second Act for Uniformity authorised his First Book. There has been but one English Service Book throughout. This Act restored Edward's revision of the Book, with several alterations, carefully specified, made doubtless by Smith and his theologians. They were, "certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants, and none other or otherwise." For the rest, some curious points may be noted in this Act. It omitted all mention of the English Ordinal, which the second Act for Uniformity had expressly and formally added to the Prayer Book as of the same authority, and which had not been included in the first Act because it was not ready at the time. This legislative omission was artfully or naturally misunderstood, and gave rise in time to no

* "And for their authority in this behalf be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all . . . archbishops, bishops, and all other their officers exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction . . . within their dioceses, shall have full power and authority by this Act to reform, correct, and punish by censures of the Church, all and singular persons which shall offend," &c. On this see some remarks, Vol. III. p. 432 of this work. Collier took too grave a view. It was not a grant of spiritual jurisdiction that the lay estates professed to give, it was a warrant or permission to exercise it without danger of legal pitfalls, such as *præmunire*.

small trouble. The Act ended with two memorable provisions peculiar to itself. The one was a rubric, if it may be called so, the first form of the highly contentious rubric, which now stands in the Prayer Book, concerning the ornaments of the church and of the minister. Instead of restoring the rubric of Edward's Second Book, that the minister should never wear alb, vestment, or cope, it ordered that all such ornaments as were in the second year of Edward should be retained and be in use until other order should be taken by the Queen's authority with the advice of the commissioners who were to be appointed, or of the metropolitan of the realm.* The other was a reservation which afterwards bore some sorry fruit, that in case of misuse or irreverence in the ceremonies or rites of the Church, the Queen with the like advisers might ordain further rites and ceremonies.† These prospective clauses were the first indication of the kind of work to be done by these commissioners. The secondary mention of the metropolitan may be noted, but at least he was there. St. John's Day, June 24, was appointed for the inuring of this Act and of the English Service.

* "Provided always, and be it enacted, that such ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use, as was in the Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty with the advice of her commissioners, appointed and authorised under the Great Seal of England, for ecclesiastical causes, or of the metropolitan of this realm." The Act was printed at the beginning of Elizabeth's Prayer Book, and this clause was referred to in the corresponding rubric there. (See below.)

† "And also if there shall happen any contempt or irreverence to be used in the ceremonies or rites of the Church, by the misusing of the orders appointed in this Book, the Queen's Majesty may, with the like advice of the said commissioners or metropolitan, ordain and publish such further ceremonies or rites as may be most for the advancement of God's glory, the edifying of His Church, and the due reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and Sacraments."

These two great Acts, one of which put out the Pope and the other the Latin Service, were boldly opposed by the Romanensian prelates. All dissented from them, and several spoke against them. Archbishop Heath, whose learning and piety we have so often admired, gave forth a laborious prelection upon the former of them, concerning the supremacy, which was perhaps unequal to his reputation. "You are by this Bill," said he, "forsaking the See of Rome. Is there no inconvenience and danger in that? You are giving a supremacy, consisting of spiritual government, to the Queen. Have you authority to grant this: or has she capacity to receive it? If you meant only to withdraw obedience from the present Pope Paul the Fourth, who has shown himself a very austere stern father to us ever since his entrance into Peter's chair, then the cause were not of so much importance. But by relinquishing the See of Rome we must forsake all general Councils, all canonical and ecclesiastical laws of the Church of Christ, the judgment of all other princes, and the unity of Christ's Church. By leaping out of Peter's ship we hazard ourselves to be drowned in the waters of schism, sects, and divisions. As to the general Councils, the first four, of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, in various ways acknowledged the Bishop of Rome to be their chief head: therefore to deny the See Apostolic is to set at nought their judgments. As to ecclesiastical laws, they wholly depend on the authority of the See Apostolic, and cannot bind the universal Church without it. As to other princes, neither Protestant nor Catholic agree with these our doings: for none of them ever took such a title as Henry the Eighth did. Whether are your wisdoms about to advise the Queen to follow the example of King Uzziah who burned

incense, or of King David who would not touch the Ark? * We have as humble and godly a mistress to reign over us as ever had English people, if that we do not seduce and beguile her by our flattery and dissimulation. As to the Unity of Christ's Church, by leaping out of Peter's ship we must, I say, be overwhelmed with the waters of schism, sects, and divisions. St. Cyprian says that the unity of Christ's Church depends upon the unity of Peter's authority, and that all heresies, sects, and schisms do spring for that men will not be obedient to the head bishop of God.† Fleeing from the unity of the Church of Rome, we must grant that the Church of Rome is either of God or else a malignant church. If of God, where Christ is truly taught and the Sacraments rightly administered, how can we disburden ourselves of forsaking that church with which we ought to be one and not to admit any separation? If you answer that it is a malignant church, then we of this realm have never received any benefit of Christ, since we have received no Gospel, no faith, no sacraments other than were sent us from Rome. Holy Eleutherius sent Faganus and Damianus in the time of King Lucius. Holy Gregory sent Augustine and Mellitus. And now Paulus Tertius lately sent Cardinal Pole, to

* He speaks of David seeing Uzziah (Ozias) stricken for presumption: and this evokes a remark from Strype that "the Archbishop forgot that Ozias was not before David, but many years after him." Strype himself seems rather to have forgotten it was Uzzah of whom the archbishop was then speaking, though it was of Uzziah just before. To put Ozias for Oza was probably the feat of a clerk or printer.

† The former of these Cyprianic quotations I have been unable to trace. It may perhaps be among the Cyprianic interpolations, the ingenious forgeries by which the most constant opponent of the neoteric Roman theory of the universal see has been transformed into the most noted witness for it. In the second of them, there is no mention of *head* bishop: it is simply bishop (sacerdoti). Heath gives the Latin and confutes himself.

restore the faith which Eleutherius and Gregory planted. If the Church of Rome be a malignant church, we have been deceived : for the doctrine must be of the nature of the church whence it comes. Now, with regard to this Supremacy and spiritual government. Have you power to say to the Queen *Tibi dabo claves* ? Have you power to bid her *Pasce, pasce, pasce* ? Have you power by Act of Parliament to bid her *Confirma tuos fratres* ? Can you empower her to excommunicate and minister spiritual punishment ? Can you make a woman Supreme Head of the Church ?” Thus Heath, arguing as if the title of Supreme Head had been to be renewed by Parliament instead of taken away : and as if the Supremacy had been now wrongfully transferred from a foreign personage who never had it, and newly given to the English sovereign ; whereas the Act only professed “to restore to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual.”* Bishop Scot of Chester also spoke against the Bill, on the third reading. “I reverence,” said he, “the work of the noblemen to whom this Bill has been committed ;

* This is the title of the Act. A great part of Heath’s speech is fired against Supreme Head, but Supreme Head was not in the Bill. Hence near half of Heath’s speech was thrown away. Burnet was so surprised at the line that Heath took on the Supremacy, that he concluded that the speech was a forgery in Heath’s name. “He is made to speak of the Supremacy as a new and unheard of thing : which he, who had sworn it so oft in king Henry and king Edward’s times, could not have the face to say.”—Vol. ii. p. 612, Pocock. Strype, who first printed it from the Foxii MSS. and the “Synodalia” in C.C.C., Cambridge, p. 75, has no doubt of its genuineness.—Strype, App. 6. Nor is there any. The speech has met with some sharp criticism. Collier says it is “without any great strength of argument.” Soames calls “leaping out of Peter’s ship” a ridiculous representation : and that “he is not much happier in any of his points, the whole argument merely resting upon misrepresentations easily refuted, puerile sophisms, assertions that preachers from Rome have in all ages inculcated the same doctrines, and appeals to the darkest portions of history.”—*Ref.* iv. 626.

Treasurer Winchester, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Rutland, Sussex, and Pembroke, the Marquis Montague, Lords Clinton, Morley, Rich, Willoughby, and North, and the Bishops of Exeter and Carlisle :* for there is nothing in the Bill as to altering the Service in the Church, and the due administration of the holy Sacraments : they will not suffer it : and they have mitigated the extreme penalties mentioned in the Bill for gainsayers, for their charity and pity toward the poor clergy of this realm. But unity is to be maintained in the Church, as order and concord in the civil state. Every village has one constable, every hundred one head constable, every shire one sheriff. All the constables are under the head constable, all the head constables are under the sheriff, and all the sheriffs are under the prince. So in the Church. Every village has a priest, every city has a bishop, every province has a metropolitan. All the priests are under the bishop, all the bishops are under the metropolitan, and all the metropolitans are under the Pope. Head Governor of the Church cannot be applied to any temporal prince. Our Saviour Christ neither gave spiritual authority to princes nor diminished their temporal authority. It will be objected against me that the texts that I have quoted to this end, against the Supremacy of princes, make nothing for the Primacy of Peter : that the texts concerning Peter refer to the other Apostles equally : or refer to him alone and not to his successors. But consider this, that the succession of Peter alone continues in the Church, not the succession of any of the other Apostles : that the same dangers of infidelity and heresy that were in Peter's days ceased

* Of course he does not enumerate the committee. I have taken them out of the *Lords' Journals*.

not in the days of his successors, so that the places that refer to Peter refer to his successors, and it was provided that it should always be known where Peter's faith was to be sought and found, if it were anywhere lost. How otherwise shall we stay ourselves wavering in this our time? At this present there be thirty-four sects of opinions in Christendom: all differing from the Catholic Church, and yet all constantly challenging Christ to be their Foundation by Scripture, and all confessing Christ to be the Son of the living God, in the words of Peter's confession. I think then that by the Stone was meant Peter and his successors, to whom men may safely cleave; as it has been seen for fifteen hundred years and odd. By the Evangelical Voice of our Saviour, and by no Councils or Synods, was this authority of which we speak given to the Holy See, as is declared in the Preface of the Council of Nicæa. The Greek Church continued under Rome eight hundred years: fourteen times has it returned to Rome: and now that it is departed from Rome, it is fallen into extreme misery. So Germany, so Poland, so Denmark: look at the calamities of these countries, in which however no prince has ever taken upon him to be called Supreme Head. They are departed indeed from Rome, but their departure diminishes not the authority of Rome, more than the loss of Normandy or France or Scotland takes away the imperial authority of England, but that it is an imperial Crown still. It is alleged that it was by a provincial council or assembly of the clergy of the realm of England that the authority of the Pope was abolished, and some inculcate this against us as a matter of great weight.* But no provincial or

* He means the Convocation of 1534. Just after the time of that very Convocation Sir Thomas More made use of the same argument as Scot

particular council can make a determination against the universal Church of Christ. And the learned men who were the doers of that, as many as are dead repented of their act before they died, and those that live have openly revoked the same. The doctrine of our adversaries is not yet fifty years old. If a man should ask them of whom they learned it, they would say, of the Germans. And of whom learned it the Germans? Of Luther. And of whom learned it Luther? He shall answer for himself. In one of his books he says that such things as he taught against the Mass and the blessed Sacrament of the altar he learned of Satan the Devil. At whose hands it is like that he received the rest of his doctrine. Luther acknowledges the Devil to be his schoolmaster in divers points of his doctrine." *

Against the other great measure, the Act for Uniformity, which restored the English Service, the oration of Feckenham, the only abbot in this, the last abbot that sat in any Parliament, repeated with some emphasis several arguments that had not been unheard before. King Lucius and his fabulous embassy, and the Roman emissaries, Damianus and Faganus, came out again; and the alleged antiquity of the Papal doctrine. "Here are two kinds of religion propounded, the one fourteen hundred years old, the other here set in a Book to be received and established by authority of this Parliament, and to take effect next Midsummer. Which of these is the more steadfast and agreeable with itself? Is it that which has a new book devised every other year, every new book according to the sincere word of God, and

here, that "one realm could not be set against all Christendom besides."
—Vol. I. p. 293 *huj. op.*

* Strype, App. No. 7.

never a one of them agreeing in all points with the other?" He went on to point out, not with extreme accuracy, the differences between the First and the Second Book of Edward.* And he ended with a lamentable description of the disorders, the lawlessness, the running before the law, which marked the new religion. "Which of these religions breeds the more humble and obedient subjects? In good Mary's days the people lived in order, and ran not before the law. There was no spoiling of churches, no pulling down of altars, and blasphemous treading of Sacraments under foot, and hanging up of the knave of clubs in the place thereof. There was no scotching and cutting of the face and legs of the Crucifix and image of Christ: no flesh eating and shambles kept in Lent and days prohibited. In Mary's days the subjects, especially the nobility, knew the way to churches and chapels, there to begin the day with prayers: but since the coming of Elizabeth our dear lady and queen, all things are turned upside down by the preachers and scaffold-players of this new religion. Obedience is gone, humility is abolished, chastity and strict living denied." But Feckenham's recollections were perhaps of more value than his arguments: he had one or two things to relate which are not devoid of interest.† Bishop Scot spoke in

* He says that Edward's First Book affirmed the Seven Sacraments, and receiving in one kind: and he seems to say that his Second Book dispensed with kneeling. "The First Book affirming the Seven Sacraments and the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Holy Eucharist, the other denying the same: the one Book admitting the real Presence of Christ's Body in the said Sacrament to be received in one kind with kneeling down, and great reverence done unto it, and that in unleavened bread; and the other Book would have the Communion received in both the kinds, and in loaf bread, without any reverence but only unto the Body of Christ in heaven."—Strype, App. 9. This is very erroneous.

† He says that Peter Martyr in his famous disputation at Oxford

a stronger strain, indignant that the alteration of religion, which he had remarked to be unattempted in the other Bill, should be effected in this. "It is a Bill," said he, "that should not be suffered to be read, or any ear given to it. For it breaks charity in breaking unity, it calls into doubt or flatly denies divers of the articles and mysteries of our faith, and sets presumption in the place of hope. The bond of charity being loosed, we must fall into sects and parties, as we do at this present. Athanasius said that it was superfluous to call in question matters that had been determined by the three hundred or more bishops of the Nicene Council: and here are we calling in question matters determined and practised in the Catholic Church by three hundred thousand bishops or more! How can our Faith hang upon an Act of Parliament? Parliament consists for the

(Vol. III. p. 116 of this work) gave a sense to the Words of Institution which was different from any other interpretation. "In his Book by him set forth of the Disputation in Oxford with the learned Students there, he saith, *Quod Christus dedit panem Discipulis suis, dicens, Hoc est Corpus Meum, quasi diceret Corpus Meum per fidem receptum erit vobis pro pane, vel instar panis.* Of whose sense the English is this, That Christ's Body received by faith shall be unto you as Bread, or instead of the Bread." He says that he heard Ridley at Paul's Cross set forth the Real Presence thus, "The devil did believe the Son of God was able to make of stones, bread: and we English people will not believe that He did make of bread His very Body, Flesh, and Blood." None of Ridley's sermons remain. He relates, about the Second Prayer Book of Edward, this: "In the last Book that Cranmer and his complices did set forth of the Communion in King Edward the Sixth his days, these plain words of Christ, *Hoc est Corpus Meum*, did so encumber them and trouble their wits, that they did leave out in the same last Book this verb substantive *est*, and made the sense of Christ's words to be there Englished *Take eat this my Body*, and left out there *This is my Body*: which thing being espied by others, and great fault found withal, then they were fain to patch up the matter with a little piece of paper clapped over the foresaid words, wherein was written this verb substantive *est*." I have not seen such a thing noticed by the editors of reprints of the book. It seems an entire blunder.

most part of lay and temporal men, not so exercised in the Scriptures and the doctrines and practices of the Church as to be competent judges of such matters. There ought to be certainty in our Faith and Religion: but look at the uncertainty of statutes of Parliament. That which is established by Parliament one year is abrogated the next. One king disallows the statutes made under the other. Those who have read histories and know the discourse and order of the Church, can testify that controversies in matters of religion have been discussed and determined at all times by the clergy only, and never by the Temporality. The heresy of Arius and the following heresies were condemned by councils in the ages of the Emperors. Those good Emperors never assembled their nobility and commons to determine such controversies, nor asked their minds, nor went by the number of voices therein, as is done in this realm at this time. In the Acts of the Apostles the infidel judge Gallio declared that he would be no judge of such matters." Scot gave a critical examination of the two services, the Latin and the English, as to the Sacrament of the altar. He was a vigorous orator, but it may be observed that the temporal estates were not engaged in the work of councils or synods of the Church; that is, they were not engaged in making formularies of faith or worship, but in confirming or establishing in the realm by their authority formularies made by theologians elsewhere, and submitted to them. And the question between the two services, the Latin or the English, involved not heresy. To prefer the English Service was not to be a heretic, because the English Service was not heretical.*

* Scot's oration is printed in Strype. It was made on April 28. It is curious that in the printed *Journal* of the Lords there are several sittings

A month before he made this speech Scot had been engaged in a scene which might have proved to him that the assemblies of the temporal estates were less desirous of doing the work proper for ecclesiastical assemblies than of listening to ecclesiastics defining the points of variance or difficulty. By order of the Council, at the end of March, in the church of Westminster a disputation was set between eight or nine of the leading Romanensians and eight or nine of the Evangelics.* Of the former party four or five were members of the House of Lords, being bishops; and the House of Lords adjourned, the House of Commons adjourned, for several days to profit by the exhibition of polemical learning.† The arrangements had been made by the Archbishop of York, at the request of his fellow Councillors, some time beforehand, and it had been settled that the disputation was to be in writing for the avoidance of the tumultuary and accidental character of verbal

omitted, and that no mention is made of the Act for Uniformity. But in the MS. of the *Journal* which D'Ewes followed, these sittings were recorded, and the progress of the measure through the House is given. Wharton also saw this MS. and has given the like particulars in his animadversions on Burnet.—*Specimen of Errors*, p. 196.

* I call the party in the Church of England, which was opposed to the Romanensian party in the Church of England, the Evangelics. It is difficult to get for them a word that is free from prejudice. In this particular disputation Machyn calls them "the new preachers." He calls their adversaries "the bishops" (p. 192).

† It is said, in the official account, so to call it, of this conference, that as soon as it was arranged to be held, "divers of the nobility and states of the realm 'requested that it might be' in the presence of them of the nobility and others of the Parliament House, for the better satisfaction and enabling of their own judgments to entreat and conclude of such laws as might depend thereon," because they understood that the said conference would be on certain matters, "whereupon, the Court of Parliament consequently following, some laws might be grounded." The design was to instruct the laity before they proceeded to ecclesiastical legislation. This was the more necessary for that all the bishops were of one side.

disceptations, in English for the instruction of the audience ; that the writings after being read aloud were to be mutually exchanged between the parties for further consideration and answer : that the Romanensian party were to begin because of their higher dignity who had so many bishops among them : and that the controversy should be upon three articles or questions propounded by the Council, namely, that the services of the Church should not be in a tongue unknown to the people ; that every church has authority in rites and ceremonies ; and that in the Mass it cannot be proved by the word of God that there is a Sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead.* These were well chosen. For the first it may be said that it was time to end the contest of books and languages in the Church of England : for the second, it was necessary to claim or relinquish the right of national reformation in face of the huge demands of Rome, which made it heresy to stir without the Pope : for the third, it was wise to limit the most awful of controversies to deciding concerning a single momentous assertion whether it were to be maintained or not. The conditions of the meeting seemed fair, and likely to have ensured an instructive conference, and they were thought to have been accepted by both parties. But to the Romanensians they were not acceptable. The Romanensians disliked the terms of the articles or theses, which affirmed the positions

* The three propositions were :

1. It is against the word of God and the custom of the ancient Church to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayer and the administration of the Sacraments.

2. Every church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so the same be to edification.

3. It cannot be proved by the word of God that there is in the Mass offered up a Sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead.

of their adversaries. They disliked the privilege of beginning first, which made them assailants, whereas they claimed to be in possession of the citadel to be defended. They felt themselves cut off from their own authorities, if the proof were limited to the word of God and the primitive Church. They preferred Latin to English, and they desired to intermingle with written dissertations something of the freedom of verbal contest. In the precious interval of ten days, during which their adversaries were forging their weapons, the Romanensian champions were trying to get the conditions of the combat altered. In the encounter itself their behaviour frustrated a great occasion, irretrievably damaged their cause, and exposed themselves to penalty.*

* An account of this conference was published at once by the Queen's printers, and must be regarded as the official account, although its official character seems to have escaped the notice of the later historians. There are three manuscript copies of it in *S.P. Elizabeth, Dom.* iii. 52, 53, 54, one of them corrected by Cecil. There is a printed copy, a duodecimo in blackletter, in the C. C. C., Cambridge, Library, MS. cxxi. 21, entitled "The Declaration of the proceeding of a Conference begun at Westminster the last of March, 1559, concerning certain articles of religion, and the breaking up of the said Conference by default and contempt of certain Bishops parties of the said Conference: Imprinted at London by Richard Jugg and John Cawood, printers to the Queen's Majesty. Cum privilegio Regiæ Majest." It is printed in Fox, Holinshed, and Burnet. In the same volume of MSS., the well-known "Synodalia" of Corpus Christi, there is contained a Latin memorial, no doubt addressed to Archbishop Heath by the Romanensian champions, which was first published, I think, by Mr. Pocock in his edition of *Burnet*. This document enables us to explain the conduct of the Romanensians, which has seemed unaccountable hitherto to historians: they acted in exact accordance with it, as may be seen in the text. It is as follows:

"Ante omnia protestamur, qui filii sumus ecclesiæ et membra corporis Christi mystici (a cujus veritate discedere non debemus) nos nihil acturos esse quod decretis et traditionibus ejusdem quoquo modo adversetur.

"Quia nos una cum tota ecclesia catholica uniforme fidei doctrinam et ceremoniarum professionem tenemus quarumque possessionem habemus: idcirco postulamus ut adversarii materias et argumenta, si quae habeant contra proposita dogmata in scriptis primo nobis exhibeant cum sub-

Upon the day appointed, Friday, March 31, a place was prepared in the choir of Westminster Abbey, where two opposite tables were set for the two parties of the combatants. At the upper end was a table across whereat sat the Queen's Council, the chair of president being taken by Sir Nicolas Bacon, the Lord Keeper. The nobility and the Commons in large number occupied the stalls and seats around. The Romanensians appeared and took their place: White the Bishop of Winchester, Baines of Lichfield, Scot of Chester, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, Watson of Lincoln, Dean Cole of St. Paul's, Archdeacon Harpsfield of Canterbury, Archdeacon Langdale of Lewes, and Archdeacon Chedsey of Middlesex: with whom sat also, though not exactly as disputers, Bishop Turberville of Exeter and Abbot Feckenham of Westminster itself. At the opposite table were ranged the Evangelics, Doctor Scory, Doctor Cox, Master Whitehead, Master Grindal, Horne, Guest, Aylmer, Sandys, and Jewel.* Such forces had not met since

scriptionibus manuum suarum, quibus nos similiter respondebimus ad vitandas calumnias et falsificationes.

"Postulamus præterea ut detur refellendi et replicandi facultas utrique parti quoties fuerit opportunum, idque Latine et omnia in scriptis: nam contendere verbis, ut inquit Apostolus, ad nihil utile est nisi ad subversionem audientium. Quodsi quando de sensu vel intelligentia Scripturarum oriatur ambiguitas, interpretatio sit penes ecclesiam et patres."—Pocock's *Burnet*, v. 529.

I may add here that the official account has been augmented by Fox, in his reprint of it, by a vivid narrative, evidently from an eyewitness, of the second day's proceedings at this conference: and that the official account, thus augmented, forms the original for the transaction. The later historians seem not to have perceived the double form of this original.

* There is some diversity of record as to the number of disputants. I have followed the official account, which gives nine a side. Fox, Stow, Holinshed, Burnet, give nine. Jewel in a letter gives nine. The letter of the Council to Heath, entrusting the business to him, bids him name eight, nine, or ten a side. It is added, in the official account, that after

the memorable conflict in St. Paul's in the corresponding period of the reign of Mary, and of those who fought then some were harnessed now; Watson, Harpsfield, and Chedsey on the one, and on the other party Aylmer.* As the animated scene of a verbal disputation was not to be repeated according to the order arranged, the splendid audience settled themselves to listen to the book or writing which it was expected that the Romanensians, who were to begin, had prepared. To the surprise of all they announced that they had no book ready, that they had mistaken the order: but that they were ready to dispute in words for that time, agreeing to write their book and deliver it to their adversaries afterwards.† This

some days Heath signified to the Council that the bishops had chosen nine on their part. There are other authorities who only give eight a side. Some omit Oglethorpe, some Turberville, some Feckenham: some omit Sandys on the other side. But Oglethorpe was there, for he was fined for his behaviour; Turberville was there and Feckenham, for they are incidentally mentioned in the proceedings, but not as officially present. There are some other variations, but it is not worth while to remark them.

* See Vol. IV. p. 74 sqq. *huj. op.*

† By saying that they had mistaken the order to conduct the disputation in writing, the Romanensians put themselves in a false position: for they had accepted that it should be in writing. They had in their memorial to Archbishop Heath indeed requested that it should be "all in writing." This is alleged against them in the official account; and it is in that document furthermore more than once asserted that it had been fully agreed that the disputation "should be in writing on both parts, for avoiding of much altercation in words," that they were to begin, and "first declare their minds and opinions to the matter, with their reasons in writing," and that the other party "should the same day declare their opinions in like manner, and so each of them should deliver their writings to the other, to be considered what were to be improved therein, and the same to declare again in writing at some other convenient day, and the like order to be kept in all the rest of the matters." And that "all this was fully agreed upon with the Archbishop of York, and so also signified to both parties." Further it is said, that as soon as this was arranged "the nobility and states of the realm," that is, the Houses of Parliament, requested that the disputation might be written in English,

appeared strange, but it was permitted without great reprehension, and they were requested to begin to dispute by word of mouth, upon the first proposition. They put forward Dean Cole as their spokesman: and he with great vehemence delivered a long oration, turning chiefly on the inconvenience of making a schism by altering the established usage of the Church. He promised that an answer should be made to the written arguments of his opponents in the writing or book that his party were to prepare. When he had ended, the rest were asked whether they had any more to say, and they answered, No. The Evangelics then proceeded to exhibit their writing or book on the first proposition, about having the service in the language of the people.* It was read by Horne,

for their better understanding: and that "this was signified to both parties, and fully agreed upon." The Romanensians acted as if their requests for alterations in the arranged order had caused alterations to be made. Their requests, it is probable, received no answer; but they should not have concluded that they were granted, because they heard no more of them. We must not suppose that they were not informed of the arrangements as soon as their adversaries, though this is asserted in some of the accounts.

* Some have remarked that the other side must have read their paper before Cole spoke: for that he speaks as if he had just heard it. This is true, but according to the official "Declaration" the order was as I have given it: that Cole spoke first. And the official account is confirmed by Doctor Cox, an eyewitness, who says in a letter, "it was decided that the opposite party should first deliver their opinion. One of them, like Goliath, advances his positions, and applauds himself as victor. One of ours replies," &c.—*Zurich Letters*, i. 27. The account in the *Venetian Cal.* (p. 64) also confirms the official account. So also the *Spanish Cal.* (p. 46). Perhaps Cole's oration, when it was written out, was touched up, so as to make it seem as if he had spoken after the Evangelics, and in answer to them. Collier thinks that Cole spoke twice, once before and once after the Evangelics, and that we have only his second speech. But there is no indication of this in the originals. Jewel, one of Cole's opponents, gives a ludicrous account of his vehemence, and rather burlesques his arguments.—*Zurich Letters*, Let. v. One of his arguments is interesting in the present day of controversy. The famous passage of Irenæus, "Ad

the former Dean of Durham, who prefaced it by a prayer and a solemn protestation that they stood to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, although they understood not by the Catholic Church the Romish Church, asking that in this disputation they might have more gentle treatment than formerly, in years past, when they were "handled most unjustly and scanty." He also required his adversaries to show cause why they now opposed the true Catholic doctrine and faith, to which most of them had subscribed not many years before.* He proceeded to read the prepared paper; which was plain, direct, and moderate. When he had ended, the bishops began to exclaim that they had now much more to

hanc ecclesiam propter potentiolem principalitatem necesse est omnes alias ecclesias convenire," is understood by Cole as it is by the modern Roman Catholics, and "*convenire ad*" is by him rendered *agree with*, not *resort to*. "It is necessary that all churches do conform themselves, and agree with the see or church of Rome."—*Burnet* (Pocock), v. 517.

* Fox gives this prefatory protestation. It is not in *Burnet* (*Records*, Part ii. Bk. iii. No. 3, Pocock's edition, v. 507), who has printed the paper, read by Horne, from the C.C.C., Cambridge, MS. cxxi. 21. The *Spanish Calendar* gives the following account of the matter, and of the whole first day's conference: "Although they had been given to understand that the discussion was to be verbal, and that all could give their vote, Bacon announced that they had to dispute in writing. The Catholics could not do this, as they had been deceived; but nevertheless Dr. Cole, dean of S. Paul's, said something on the matter. As soon as he had finished speaking, one of the heretics arose, and kneeling down with his back to the altar, on which was the Sacrament, he prayed that God would inspire and enlighten those present to understand the truth. When the prayer was ended, another of them took out a book, and read very diffusely all that they had prepared and devised on the first point. When this was done, the bishops wished to follow up the discussion as they expected, and reply to the heretic's arguments: but Bacon would not allow it. The Bishop of Winchester said that as no one had spoken on their side but Cole, and all of them had much to say, they should give them another day to reduce to writing what they had to say, so as to give them the same advantage as their opponents: and so with difficulty and bad grace they gave them till Monday" (p. 46).

say to that matter. It was determined thereon that when the two other propositions had been handled in writing by both parties on the following days of conference, they should have an opportunity of returning a written answer to the writing read by Horne; which answer in the meantime they might be preparing. To this both parties assented.

On the Monday following the same assembly met in the same place.* "Begin, my Lords," said the Lord Keeper to the Episcopal or Romanensian party, "upon the second question, in writing, according to the order appointed at our last meeting, which I am sure ye remember." The Romanensians had brought a paper on the first question, which they had entrusted to Harpsfield to read. "I am determined," answered Bishop White, "that now be read what we have on the first question." Harpsfield rose to read it four times, amid some disturbance, and as often was made to desist.† "Will you not then proceed in the order appointed you?" asked the Lord Keeper. "We should suffer prejudice if we entreated not now of the first," answered White, "for that I am provided, all my brethren are so minded." The rest of the bishops signified that it was so, and Watson of Lincoln added that what Cole had spoken at the last meeting was not prepared to strengthen their cause, but that he

* The House of Commons was prorogued to be present. "For that this day, April 3, was appointed to have disputation before the Council and Lords in Westminster Choir between the bishops and Mr. Horne, Mr. Cox, and other Englishmen that came from Geneva; and for that it was meet that they of this House should be there present to hear, this Court was continued until the morrow following."—*Commons' Journal*, i. 59.

† Dr. Harpsfield rose four times with the paper in his hand, and was refused permission each time, Bacon still urging them to pass to the second article, and they replying that they wished to be heard on the first, &c.—*Spanish Calendar*, p. 47.

made his oration of himself and *ex tempore*, that they were not indifferently treated, if they were not now allowed to read what they had written on the first question, and that they were ill used as touching the time, having been warned only two days before the last assembly, their adversaries having been warned long before. This was received with disfavour by the audience, who remembered that Cole had been assisted by his party, and the Lord Keeper sternly warned them to take heed lest they should have it proved against them that they complained without cause. "Your writing," said he, "which ye would now have read, should have been heard the first on the first day, but Cole spoke instead, and we understood that he said what you would have him and as much: for so you were asked, and ye granted it. Then the other part was heard; and upon that ye pretended that you had more to say." The bishops answered that they had more to say, if they might be indifferently heard. "As to indifferent usage," said Bacon, "how would ye use those other men, if you had your way? Many who are here present, were not present the other day, so that they would hear your writing which heard not theirs. Both sides were warned at one time: but they, not you, kept the order." He went on to promise that they should read their first writing when the day came for answering one another in confirmation of the first question, and to this the Council agreed. Bishop Baines of Lichfield objected that there would not be time for so much reading in one day, if their adversaries read one book and they two. Bacon replied that he for his part would gladly tarry the time to hear both sides, when the day came, and all the audience gave a shout, that they would hear gladly. Bishop Watson declared that they had been ordered

first by the Archbishop to dispute verbally in Latin : then that there came another commandment to provide a Latin writing: and at last they were ordered to bring writings in English. The Lord Keeper totally denied this. "We so understood the order, my Lords," said Bishops Baines and Scot. Bacon then invited them to begin upon the second question, when Baines audaciously declared that they had been appointed to bring that day what they had upon the first question. Bacon appealed to the rest of the Council whether it were not the second question that was ordered. "We were willed to bring in this day our writing for the first day also," said the Bishop of Lincoln. But this was too much for Archbishop Heath, who roundly told his brethren that they were to blame for standing on that issue, that the order was plain to treat of the second question, and that they should leave their contention, and begin. "Go to now, begin, my Lords," said Bacon. Another objection was then taken. "It is contrary to the order in disputation that we should begin," said Baines. "We have the negative, they the affirmative, therefore they must begin," said Watson. "They must speak first what they can bring against us : we are the defending part," said Baines. "So is the school manner, and the manner in Westminster Hall, the plaintiffs speak first," said Scot. "We should do against the school order to begin," said Baines. "We are come hither," answered Bacon, "to keep the order of God, and to set forth His truth : it lies not in me to change the order that we have taken for this." Oglethorpe of Carlisle replied, "We are of the Catholic Church, and in possession of the truth: they must say what they have against us, and we must defend our cause." So said the rest, Baines adding that they had heard of no

such order as that they should begin. The Lord Keeper answered smartly that they had heard the order, and had obeyed it willingly in the first question by beginning: why then were they not willing to begin in the second? Watson said that in the first they had the affirmative, which now their adversaries had, and therefore should begin. The Evangelics denied this. Baines expressed his surprise that the other side named themselves of the Catholic Church, challenging the name as well as they themselves. "We do so," was the answer of the Evangelics, "and we are of the true Catholic Church, and maintain the verity thereof."—"Yet," said Watson, "ye would overthrow all Catholic order."—"I wonder," said Horne, "that ye stand so much who should begin."—"You think it requisite that we should follow your orders, even as we have taken the questions at your hands," said Watson. The Lord Keeper remarked that the questions were not devised by either side, but offered indifferently to both: and Horne added that the questions having been propounded by the Council, the bishops chose the negative and yet were willing at first to begin first, whereas now they would not do the like. This appearing unanswerable, the Bishop of Lichfield, as if he were in his own consistory, proposed to examine whether his party or his adversaries were of the true Catholic Church. "Now you go from the matter, and make questions of your own," said the Lord Keeper. Baines persisted that this was the first requisite. "We must needs go to work, and try that first, what Church they be of: for there are many churches in Germany. Master Horne, Master Horne, I pray you which of these churches are you of?" Horne answered that he was of Christ's Catholic Church. The Lord Keeper again intervened, and in the further conversation, or

wrangle, which followed, Scot of Chester observed that, if they spoke first, their adversaries would have the last word, and depart with the applause of the people, and called on their adversaries to give them place. Doctor Aylmer answered that they had given them place, because they were bishops; they had given them the first place. "A goodly giving of place," said Bishop Baines, "I assure you: yea, marry, ye gave place." The Lord Keeper now proposed to break up the conference. "If," said he, "ye make this assembly to be gathered in vain, and will not go to the matter, let us rise and depart."—"Content," answered White of Winchester, "let us be gone, for in this point we will not give over." He added that they would not so hinder their religion, or afford such evil example to posterity as to give over to their adversaries. "Let us break up then," said Bacon, but, as the bishops rose straightway to depart, he stopped them. "Let us see," said he, "whether every one of you be thus minded. My Lord of Winchester, how say you, will not you begin to read your writing?"—"No, surely," answered White; "I am fully determined, howsoever my brethren do." The Lord Keeper then asked the same question of Bishop Watson, of Bishop Baines, and of Dean Cole and Doctor Chedsey and Archdeacon Harpsfield, receiving the same answer from them all. The sentence of Scot of Chester was that he would not refuse to read, if they were commanded, but that they ought not to do it: of Oglethorpe of Carlisle, that they might read first, if their writing should alone be read, and so be the last read. But Feckenham, after some fencing, was of the opposite opinion, and thought that they should read their paper. Bacon then broke up the meeting with the final words, "My Lords, since ye refuse to read your writing, and

will not that we should hear you, you may perhaps shortly hear of us."

The conduct of the Romanensians had another origin than perversity or misunderstanding. It arose out of the intolerable assumption that their adversaries were heretics, and that they themselves were standing as Catholics against them: it arose in part from clerical sensitiveness shrinking from having established truth or usage judged by the laity. It was increased by the number of bishops among them, who shrank from displaying their abilities before one another, but vied with one another in defying without fighting the common foe. Their arrogant timidity, for such it seemed, stood in contrast with the meekness and resolution of their adversaries. The fear of defeat may have confirmed them in evading the issue, but defeat would never have prejudiced their cause so much as that they fled the field.*

* "It cannot be believed how much this conduct has lowered the bishops in the opinion of the people. They think that as they would not say anything, they had nothing to say." Jewel to P. Martyr.—*Zurich Letters*, i. 16. As to their motives, Sanders seems to be the fountain of some that have been imputed to them: such as that they felt it inconsistent with their character to dispute before laymen, with a layman for president, and to have the faith of the Church called in question. His account is curious. He gives not accurately the questions to be discussed; to him the disputation was between Catholics and heretics; he abuses Lord Keeper Bacon. He makes the bishops vainly object beforehand to the whole thing. "Et sane quam primum admonent Episcopos, nomine suæ majestatis, ut vel ipsi se ad disputationem cum quibusdam Protestantibus parent, vel alios e suo clero qui hanc provinciam obire velint substituant. Respondentibus Episcopis æquum non esse ut ea que jam a multis seculis tot et tam celebribus Pontificum, Conciliorum ac Patrum judiciis definita sunt in questionem ac disputationem veniant; multoque minus ut ea que in Academiis certo ordine coram doctis ac judicio valentibus agitari deberent, coram imperito ac novitatis studioso populo, qui clamoribus potius quam argumentis rem omnem definire solet, tractentur: denique asserentibus contra contentiosos et Ecclesiæ judicio non acquiescentes parum profici disputationibus, nihil egerunt: quia Protestantes omnino voluerunt ut disputarent, propositis in questionem (ut fit) eis articulis qui

On the evening of the same day the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln were sent to the Tower for contempt. Their captivity was made as easy as it was possible, and the jest of one of their late adversaries, which has seemed the joy of his malice, may rather have for its point the mildness of the measure meted to them.* On the next day the rest of their company,

videbantur habere majorem pro hereticis in scripturis probationis speciem : ut, de Communione sub utraque specie, de publicis precibus habendis in lingua vulgari, et similia." He proceeds to describe the contest : "Dies ergo et locus disputationi designati sunt : personæ utrinque selectæ : judex fit (si Diis placet) Nicolaus Baconus, homo laicus, hereticus, ac rerum divinarum prorsus imperitus, assistente ad speciem tantum Reverendissimo Archiep. Eboracensi. Dies advenit, qui fuit 3 Ap., infiniti confluxerunt : iniquæ disputandi leges ab hereticis tantum præscribuntur ; nihil ordine et ratione factum, declamationibus hinc inde tempus elabitur : profanus judex omnis ut volebat moderatur : res ad nihilum redit, heretici in insania pergunt." He goes on that the magnanimous bishops, despising their own danger, or some of them, were for excommunicating the Queen and her advisers, but the more prudent thought that inconvenience might follow if they did that. (His language seems to intimate that they spoke of this so as to be heard.)—Sanders, *De Schism.* 266 (ed. 1628). This story of threatening to excommunicate the Queen is repeated by Camden, and others after him ; as Heylin. Mr. Bridgett argues against it as "intrinsically improbable," without seeming to know that it came originally from his own side.—*Eliz. and the Catholic Hierarchy*, 161.

* "A letter to the Lieutenant of the Tower, with the bodies of the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, whom he is willed to keep in sure and several ward, suffering them nevertheless to have each of them one of their own men to 'tend upon them, and their own stuff for their bedding and other necessary furniture, and to appoint them to some convenient lodgings, meet for persons of their sort, using them also otherwise well, specially the Bishop of Lincoln, for that he is sick ; for which respect also, and because this is his sick night, the said Lieutenant is willed to have the rather regard unto him, and to spare him some of his own lodging and stuff for this night, and also to suffer his surgeon and such other as shall be needful for his health to have access unto him from time to time.' At the same time Cave and Sackville were appointed to take possession of the houses of the two bishops, and peruse their papers."—*Acts of Privy Council*, p. 78. Perhaps Jewel did "gloat" over the misfortune of his late adversaries, as Mr. Bridgett says : and perhaps his joke about "castrametation," in one of his letters, may have had the hidden meaning that they could walk about the Tower. History records greater woes. In a subsequent order of Council the Lieutenant is told to have

all but Feckenham, were ordered to make their personal appearance before the Council once every day, and not to depart from London or Westminster without license. It was the Bishops of Lichfield, of Chester, of Carlisle, it was Cole and Harpsfield and Chedsey who received this stroke: their personal appearances day after day to the middle of May are minuted in the Acts of the Council, when a break in that register, extending over several years, leaves their case unclosed. The House of Lords however was not deprived of the three bishops by their appearance daily before the Council: it was ordered that "upon the Parliament days" it should be sufficient for them to report themselves at the House to the Lord Keeper, and hence it was that Bishop Scot of Chester was able to deliver the eloquent speeches, which we have reviewed, upon the great ecclesiastical measures of the session. All six of them were moreover heavily fined.* On the Sunday after the abortive Conference

the Bishop of Lincoln, for his quartan ague, at his own table, and give him the liberty of the house.—*Acts*, p. 93.

* The fines in the recognisances were: Baines of Coventry, 2,000 marks; Scot of Chester, £1,000; Oglethorpe of Carlisle, 500 marks; Dean Cole, 1,000 marks; Harpsfield, 500 marks; Chedsey, £300.—*Acts*, p. 79. These were afterwards assessed at: Baines, £333 6s. 8d.; Scot, 200 marks; Oglethorpe, £250; Cole, 500 marks; Harpsfield, £40; Chedsey, 40 marks.—*Ib.* p. 103. Cf. Strype, i. 96. In the *Acts of the Council* about this period there are many minutes of the appearances of the three bishops, and of the three doctors. Thus, April 6, "The Bishops of Coventry, Chester, and Carlisle came this day, and made their appearance, desiring it might be so recorded. Doctor Cole, Doctor Chedsey, and Doctor Harpsfield did also the like" (p. 80). Another time it is, "Doctor Chedsey and Doctor Harpsfield made this day their appearance, and Doctor Cole being sick sent his man to record the same" (p. 89). The entry about "Parliament days" is, "The Lords resolved this day that the Bishops of Chester, Carlisle, and Coventry and Lichfield, before bounden, shall from henceforth upon the Parliament days record their appearance there to the Lord Great Seal: and that notwithstanding their former recognisances it shall be sufficient for them so to do."—April 8 (p. 80).

Doctor Bill, the Queen's almoner, was the preacher chosen for Paul's Cross, where he read a bill or paper declaring the cause of the imprisonment of the bishops, their frowardness in disappointing so august an assembly by refusing the intended disputation.*

Scenes very different from these (to recede toward the beginning of the year) were presented in the sessions of the first Convocation of this reign, but even there the shadows of impending change were cast. On January 24, a day before the meeting of Parliament, the Bishop of London, with Pate Bishop of Worcester, and Baines of Lichfield, entered the chapter house of St. Paul's, where Dean Cole, Vicar General of Canterbury, tendered them, and they accepted, the burden of the commission of the archiepiscopal see. Three days later the Commissioners, the Abbot of Westminster, and the clergy met in the choir of St. Paul's; the Mass of the Holy Ghost was performed, but no sermon followed. On their return to the chapter house, the Bishop of London explained that the archiepiscopal see being void, the Queen's Council had ordered no sermons to be had in that church until the royal assent should have been obtained.† A week after that, Nicolas Harpsfield, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, was presented as Prolocutor by Dean Cole and John Harpsfield Archdeacon of London. A week after that, February 9, Bonner asked the lower clergy whether they had anything to exhibit that day. The Prolocutor, the other Harpsfield,

* Wriothesley, 144; Machyn, 194; cf. Strype, i. 133. This paper, that Bill read, may have been the official account, or "Declaration of the proceeding," which we have.

† I know not whence Burnet asserts that the Queen sent to them to forbid them to make any canons on pain of *præmunire*, unless it was from Heylin's remark that at this time the Submission of the Clergy was void, having been repealed by Mary.

Chedsey, and Thomas Reynolds answered that they knew neither why nor on what they were to treat, and requested that some means might be taken to preserve religion.* The bishops replied that it seemed advisable for the clergy to petition the Queen that no burden should be laid on them in that Parliament. A fortnight later, February 25, a second conference between the Houses followed, when the Prolocutor offered some Articles in writing, which he said that the clergy had composed for the discharge of their consciences and the declaration of their Faith, at the same time requesting the bishops to take the lead in this,† and on the last of February, it is curious to read, the Bishop of London and the clergy exhibited these Articles formally, as if they were of their joint composition, to the bishops.‡ They prefixed to them a solemn address or preface,§ in which they particularly notified the constitutional validity of their assembly as

* "Ut ratio ineatur quomodo religio posset conservari."—Wilkins, iv. 179.

† "Petierunt ut ipsi episcopi sint duces sibi hac in re."—*Ib.*

‡ "Episcopus Londin. commissarius &c., et clerus inferioris domus exhibuerunt articulos suos in priori sessione conceptos: quos lectos Episcopi præsentandos promiserunt superiori domui Parliamenti crastino die."—*Ib.*

§ "Reverendi in Christo Patres, ac Domini colendissimi. Quoniam fama publica referente ad nostram nuper notitiam pervenit multa religionis Christianæ dogmata publico et unanimi gentium Christianarum consensu hactenus recepta et probata, ac ab Apostolis ad nos usque concorditer per manus deducta, præsertim articulos infra scriptos, in dubium vocari: Hinc est quod nos Cantuariensis Provinciæ inferior secundarius Clerus in uno (Deo sic disponente ac serenissimæ dominæ nostræ Reginæ, Decani et Capituli Cant. mandato, brevi Parliamenti, ac monitione ecclesiastica solita declarata id exigente) convenientes, partium nostrarum esse existimavimus, tum nostræ, tum eorum, quorum cura nobis committitur, æternæ saluti omnibus quibus poterimus modis prospicere. Quocirca majorum nostrorum exemplis commoti, qui in similia sæpe tempora inciderunt, fidem, quam in Articulis infra scriptis, veram esse credimus, et ex animo profiteamur ad Dei laudem, et honorem officique et aliarum nostræ curæ commissarum exonerationem, præsentibus duximus publice inferendam affirmantes, et sicut Deus nos in die judicii adjuvet asserentes: Primo, &c."—*Ib.*; cf. Fuller, Book ix, p. 444 (ed. 1837).

called by command, mandate, writ, and all due and wonted ecclesiastical monition; that it was notorious that many doctrines of the Christian religion, hitherto received by all Christian nations, and delivered or handed down from the Apostles, were now called into question; that they, the inferior and secondary clergy of the province, conceived it their duty to provide by all means possible for the salvation of themselves and such as were committed to their charge, according to the examples of their predecessors who had fallen upon like times. The Articles which followed, five in number, were brief and uncompromising, and the whole memorial of the clergy was concluded with a solemn supplication to the bishops to perform the pious and charitable duty of presenting them to the higher powers in Parliament, for the health of their flocks and the deliverance of their own souls.* The bishops promised to present them to the House of Lords next day. But no such formal presentation as was expected appears to have been made. A week later, March 6, to the question of the clergy, Bonner said that he had given the Articles to "the common mouth of all the Lords in the House of Lords," meaning the Lord Keeper, who took them graciously, but made no answer whatever.† The Prolocutor and

* This supplication ran, "Quam nostram assertionem, affirmationem et fidem nos inferior clerus prædictus ob considerationes prædictas vestris paternitatibus tenore presentium exhibemus: humiliter supplicantes ut, quia nobis non est copia hanc nostram sententiam et intentionem aliter illis, quos in hac parte interest, notificandi, vos, qui patres estis, ista superioribus ordinibus significare velitis. Qua in re officium charitatis ac pietatis (ut arbitramur) præstabitis, et saluti gregis vestri (ut par est) prospicietis, et vestras ipsi animas liberabitis."—Wilkins, iv. 180.

† "Qui erat os commune omnium dominorum illius domus: Qui articulos prædictos, ut apparebat, gratanter accepit, sed nullum omnino responsum dedit."—*Ib.*

the clergy requested in reply that they might at their next meeting be informed of the Lord Keeper's will in the matter. They met the next day, when Bonner told them that he had found no opportunity of speaking with the Lord Keeper about it. Three days afterwards, March 10, he acquainted them that their Articles, except the last, were approved by both the Universities, and subscribed in an instrument attested by a public notary, which had been sent up. Nothing further passed about the matter.

These Articles were indeed newly approved by the Universities: but three of them had been approved by the Universities in former use, and were nearly word for word the same which had been subscribed by both bodies in the days of Mary, and propounded to Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley in their memorable struggle at Oxford. These were concerning the Sacrament of the altar, severally affirming the Corporal Presence, Transubstantiation, and the Propitiatory Sacrifice in the Mass.* To them were now added two more, conceived of the present exigency: that the supreme power of feeding and ruling belongs to the Holy See; and that Authority in Faith and Discipline belongs only to the pastors of the Church, not to laymen.† It was significant of the temper of the age that

* I am indebted to Strype for this remark. These three Articles and their Marian history may be read in Vol. IV. p. 183 of this work. But I must add that in this Elizabethan edition there are two or three verbal differences which show careful revision. 1. In the Marian first Article for the words "*Virtute verbi Domini a sacerdote prolati presens est,*" &c., the Elizabethan has "*Virtute Christi verbo suo a sacerdote debite prolato assistentis presens est,*" &c. 2. The second Article is the same in each. 3. The Marian third Article is, "*In Missa est vivificum Ecclesiæ sacrificium pro peccatis tam vivorum quam mortuorum propitiabile*"; the Elizabethan of this is, "*In Missa offertur verum Christi Corpus, et verus Ejusdem Sanguis, Sacrificium propitiatorium pro vivis et defunctis.*"

† These other two Articles were:

"Item. Quod Petro Apostolo et ejus legitimis successoribus in sede

the Universities refused to sanction the last.* Having come into the Lord Keeper's hands, these labours of the clergy may be thought to have guided his sedulous mind to the formation of one of the questions or Articles which, as we have seen, were soon afterwards proposed to have been disputed in the frustrated Conference of Westminster. They contained, in their last particular, that the Universities rejected, the principle which it may be underlay the conduct of the Romanensian colleagues on that occasion. For the rest, in this Convocation the Upper House was not large, ten sees being vacant, Canterbury, Salisbury, Norwich, Chichester, Hereford, Gloucester, Oxford, Bangor, Bristol, and Rochester. In their Register there are found some humble expressions of suiting their hours of meeting to the hours of Parliament, for the like of which the records of all the Convocations held throughout the Reformation would be searched in vain.† In their own assembly the clergy were urgent with them.

Apostolica, tanquam Christi Vicariis, data est suprema potestas pascendi et regendi Ecclesiam Christi militantem, et fratres suos confirmandi.

"Item. Quod autoritas tractandi et definiendi de iis quæ spectant ad Fidem, Sacramenta et Disciplinam ecclesiasticam hactenus semper spectavit et spectare debet tantum ad pastores Ecclesiæ, quos Spiritus Sanctus in hoc in Ecclesia Dei posuit, et non ad laicos."—Fuller or Wilkins.

* It may be that it was to this transaction with the Universities that Jewel by mistake referred, when he spoke of the Romanensians gathering their auxiliary forces from Oxford and Cambridge for the Westminster disputation.—*Zurich Letters*, i. 14. Nothing is known from any other author of the Universities having any concern with the Westminster disputation.

† The Bishop of London requested the clergy "ut sibi eligerent prolocutorem, et electum presentarent die Veneris proximo inter 9 et 10, si Parliamentum tunc non habeatur, alioquin ad horam 3 post meridiem." Again, he prorogued them till next Friday, "si Parliamentum non habeatur: alioquin inter secundam post meridiem."—Wilkins, iv. 182. At the beginning of the Reformation, on the contrary, we find the House of Lords accommodating itself to the sittings of Convocation, and arranging that the bishops might be there on certain days. "Hodie decretum est, quod Domini spirituales in Convocatione diebus Martis et

Parliament rose on the eighth of May, the Queen being present. It was a memorable Parliament in some other respects besides the great measures which it passed. In the House of Commons great boldness had been shown: some of the most important Acts, such as Uniformity, were carried by small majorities after long "arguments." The violent speech of Doctor Story, the noted civilian whom we have met in Oxford and London in the reign of Mary, who averred that he gloried in his deeds in the persecution, and wished he had done more, narrating a faggot flung in the face, and a thornbush thrust under the feet of an earwig who was singing a psalm at the stake, showed an unsubdued spirit,* which many shared. The old proposal for the making of ecclesiastical laws by a commission of thirty-two persons, which had wandered through the Reformation from the reign of Henry downwards, was passed by the Commons, sent to the Lords, read there once, and heard of no more for that time: whence it would seem that the restoration of church discipline was more to the mind of the Commons than of the Lords. Another, an important Bill, "for the admitting and consecrating of archbishops and bishops," went through the Commons, and was sent to the Lords, but never left them, being arrested, it would seem, through the influence of the prelates. The failure of this Bill left the English Ordinal still unestablished; and contributed to the great controversy that arose afterwards upon consecration.† On the

Veneris proxim. sequent. et ex tunc die Veneris tantum, donec melius secus videtur, versari possint," &c.—*Lords' Journal*, Anno 1533, p. 59. But the reason of the change of tone may have been to let the bishops be able to be in their places in the House of Lords during a most momentous session.

* Strype, *Annals*, i. 78.

† This Bill was one of five that came from the Commons, Mar. 22, and

other hand, another Bill of the Commons passed the Lords against the resistance of the bishops and of Abbot Feckenham, annexed to the Crown the religious houses which Mary had refounded, and opened the gate to their dissolution. In this Act it might be remarked that the rules and ceremonies of the religious were boldly pronounced to be "repugnant to the usage of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ."* A curious thing in this Session was the repeated appearance of several of the bishops in the House of Commons on occasion of transactions concerning them and their lands. White of Winchester appeared several times to oppose a Bill for restoring large portions of the Winchester lands to persons who had got them by letters patent under Edward the Sixth and had been turned out of them by Mary. The Bishop came into the House, and demanded a copy of the Bill: which was granted: he required a time to be set for him and his legal counsel to plead: which was granted: and on several days the Bishop and his counsel, the patentees by their counsel, laid forth their arguments before the House. It need hardly be said, in a case of property, what was the result: but an incident in midst exemplified the humility which became a Christian prelate. Cave, the Chancellor of Lancaster, took the occasion to complain that the Bishop, whom he called "Mr. White," perhaps for the preservation of privilege, had misrepresented him, in his oration against the Act for

was read "prima vice."—*Lords' Journal*, 568. The *Journal* has no more about it, but D'Ewes says it was read "secunda vice": no mention is made that it was either ordered to be ingrossed or referred to committees, because it had been sent from the House of Commons. Soon after he says it "was read tertia vice et conclusa" (p. 26). He seems to mean that it was read thrice on the same day. The mischances of the English Ordinal in this Parliament were curious.

* 1 Eliz. c. 24 (*al.* 39).

Uniformity in the House of Lords, as not liking the Book of Service, whereas he had only said that he wished the Book to be well considered. The Bishop stood up, allowed and confirmed the correction, and asked his forgiveness: and this again the Chancellor took thankfully from the Bishop.* In like case, in proper person, came Bonner into the House, when a Bill was obtained by Wentworth, Rich, Darcy, and other eminent graspers of the London lands. He came, he demanded a copy of the Bill, which was styled for confirmation of Bishop Ridley's grants and leases: he called Ridley, Doctor Ridley, Usurper of the Bishopric. He received the copy, with the addition that the House intended to take Ridley's title as it stood therein. He and his counsel pleaded their cause, the other side theirs, some days: the Bill passed the Commons: went up: was read thrice in the Lords: and, it was marvellous, rejected: so Bonner prevailed. In like case, in proper person, came Pate into the House: demanded a copy of the Bill for assuring to Jobson and Blunt lands which Mary had reunited to the see of Worcester, whereas Blunt and Jobson had got them under Edward: declared that Hooper's grants of these lands were not good, for that Hooper was not lawful Bishop of Worcester because of Bishop Heath's appeal on being deprived under Edward of the bishopric: appeared again with his counsel: pleaded: prayed the House to consider it. In like case, in proper person, came into the House Baines of Lichfield and Coventry, made the same demand, had a day assigned, returned

* Strype, i. 63. White was accused of cancelling records, and some articles were devised for his punishment. The fierce Dr. Story got into some trouble over this matter of the Winchester lands. He went to the Lords, and offered himself to be one of White's counsel against the patentees. A member of the Commons took this up as not well done in a member of that House, and Story had to excuse himself.—D'Ewes, 52.

with his counsel, and argued his cause. Another Bill, which became law, originated with the Commons, and went through many changes in their House: that the Queen by Commission might examine the deprivations of spiritual persons, and restore them. It passed the Lords near the last day of the Session. It seems to have been equally applicable to the deprivations of Edward and of Mary: but in one early stage of its existence (unless this were another Bill) it was apparently limited to one reign and four bishops, "to make lawful the deprivations of the bishops of London, Winchester, Worcester, and Chichester, in the reign of Edward."*

The English Service Book, revised by the committee or company of theologians who met in Sir Thomas Smith's house, the Book of Common Prayer of the Elizabethan recension, was used in the Queen's chapel

* Bonner, Gardiner, Heath, and Day had been respectively deprived of these sees in Edward's days. The Bill in that shape seems to have been meant to hit at Bonner. In its final and more general shape it passed both Houses, but, as Strype remarks, "I do not find it was enacted, and passed into a law." Strype, *Annals*, ch. ii., D'Ewes, and the *Journals* are the authorities for the anecdotes above given. There is mention of another Bill, which went through the Commons and up to the Lords, about the appointment of bishops. It is a curious one. D'Ewes says: "On Tuesday, 21 March, the Bill that the Queen's Highness shall collate or appoint bishops in bishoprics being vacant was read the first and second time, and thereupon ordered to be engrossed."—"On Wednesday, 22 March, the Bill for collating of bishops by the Queen's Highness, and without rites and ceremonies [was] read the third time and passed the House, and [was] sent up to the Lords by Mr. Comptroller." Whereupon "without rites and ceremonies used, I suppose, in Popish Ordinations," is the pious gloss of Strype. In the *Lords' Journal* the only notice of this Bill is on the same day, March 22, where it is called Bill "for the admitting and consecrating of archbishops and bishops": and is mentioned as brought from the Commons and read once. But D'Ewes says it was read three times and passed. It was long held. On April 30 Sandys wrote to Parker, "The bill is in hand to restore men to their livings: how it will speed I know not."—Parker's *Corresp.* p. 66.

six weeks before the day appointed in the new Act for Uniformity for the general public use of it, on May 12, the Sunday after the dissolution of Parliament, when it had been enacted only four days.* Some preparation had been made for the change three days before, on the day after the Act passed.† The committee that put forth the work were Parker, Cox, May, Bill, Pilkington, Whitehead, and Grindal (those who had been named for such a work in the Device for the alteration of religion), along with Sir Thomas Smith to convene and assist them. To them were added Sandys and Guest,‡ the latter a learned man, recommended, it is said, by Parker, to supply his own absence, and soon to become Archdeacon of Canterbury: on whom the main part of the work is believed to have fallen. They professedly presented and restored the Second Book of Edward: but with this text the First Book was carefully and advantageously collated; and the alterations made breathed a comprehensive and moderate spirit. It need not be said that the Prayer Book of Elizabeth was not submitted to Convocation. The body of divines who composed it appears to have had no written commission, and no mandate or authority besides the Device, or resolution of the Council, in which their employment was proposed and their names were given.§

At the beginning of the Prayer Book of Elizabeth

* "The 12 day of May began the English [Service] in the Queen's chapel."—Machyn, 197.

† "Yesterday they took the Sacrament away from the palace chapel, and some sort of Mass was performed in English, as they are doing in many parish churches." The Bp. of Aquila to Alba, May 10.—*Span. Cal.* 69.

‡ Guest had been a licensed preacher under Edward the Sixth. See the list in Vol. II. p. 486 of this work.

§ See above, p. 21.

the new Act for Uniformity was printed at full length.* The final clauses of this Act, ordering the ornaments of church and minister to be such as were in use in the second year of Edward the Sixth, until other order should be taken by advice of those high ecclesiastical commissioners who were to be appointed, or of the metropolitan of the realm, were repeated, not exactly, but in a final manner for present direction, in a rubric which was printed before the Order for Morning Prayer, that the minister should use such ornaments in the church as were in use in the second year of Edward.† This was a surprising direction. The Book in the first draft, the draft which was laid before Parliament, as we may conclude with probability, contained the restrictive rubric of Edward's Second Book as to vestments: while it was Parliament (as we have seen) that ordered the return to the things of Edward's second year. This was through the influence of Cecil, and against the mind of the theologians. Guest remonstrated against any garment more than the surplice.‡ The keen Sandys observed the real intent; the order was preservative, and not likely to be annoying to his party: "the last Book of Service is gone through with a proviso to retain the ornaments which were used in the first and second

* It retains its place in the present Prayer Book.

† "And here it is to be noted that the minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments *in* the church as were in use by authority of parliament in the second year of the reign of king Edward the VI., *according to the act of parliament set in the beginning of this book.*" Here observe, 1. That "*of the church,*" which is the expression in the Act, is altered to "*in the church*" in the rubric: which alteration may be immaterial or may perhaps limit the ordinance to the minister's person. 2. That the reference to the Act, which would have explained the rubric, was omitted at the Restoration, and hence the parliamentary origin of this famous ordinance has been generally forgotten.

‡ See his paper addressed to Cecil, of which anon.

year of King Edward, until it please the Queen to take other order for them: our gloss upon this text is, that we shall not be forced to use them, but that others in the meantime shall not convey them away, but that they may remain for the Queen.”* The other introductory rubric varied from Edward’s counterpart in ordering the common prayers to be said in the accustomed place of the church, not in such place where the people might best hear.

The Book in passing through Parliament underwent the careful examination of Cecil in the Commons, and the minute strictures of Bishop Scot in the Lords. By extracting their censures the reader may discern the original features of the severe draft which they modified, the points that they carried, or failed to carry. A dialogue between Cecil and Guest has been conceived out of the explanation of “the causes of the order taken in the new service,” which the theologian wrote to the minister on the conclusion of the labours of the committee.† “Why,” Cecil has been supposed to have asked, “have you not restored some of the ceremonies that have been lately taken away, not being evil in themselves?”—“Because,” answered Guest, “ceremonies once taken away ought not to be restored: and these ceremonies were devised of men, or abused to idolatry.”—“Why have you not replaced the Cross in churches?”—“We follow the example of Epiphanius and of the Emperor Leo in destroying pictures and images.”—“Why have you

* Sandys to Parker, 30 April, Parker’s *Corresp.*, p. 65.

† By Strype, who first published this important paper, *Ann.* ii. 459, App. 14, and drew out of it a set of questions, supposed of Cecil, to which it might be thought to have returned answers.—*Ann.* i. 120. The paper is in MS. cvi. No. 137, C.C.C. Cambridge. It is simply Guest’s explanation of what he had done, to the minister by whom he seems to have been added to the committee.

not restored Procession?"—"Procession is superfluous; we may pray for the same in church for which we pray abroad, yea and better too. When we pray abroad, our mind is not so set upon God, for sight of things, as when we pray in church."—"Why should not the minister wear alb, vestment, and cope at the Communion?"—"If the surplice is sufficient in baptising, reading, preaching, and praying, it is sufficient for celebrating the Communion."*—"Why have you divided the Order of the Communion into two parts, the one to be read to all without distinction, the other to the communicants only, the rest being departed?"—"We do but restore the old division of the Mass of the learners or Catechumens."†—"Why have you ordered the Creed so that it may be said only by the communicants?"—"Because, according to Dionysius, Chrysostom, and Basil, the learners were shut out when the Creed was read; the Creed was the prayer of the faithful only."†—"Why have you omitted prayer for the dead, which was used in the Communion in the First Book?"—"Because it seems to make for the sacrifice of the dead. And because, as it was used in the First Book, it makes some of the faithful to be in heaven, and to need

* Guest's full words on this Article are, "Because it is sufficient to use but a surplice in baptising, reading, preaching, and praying, therefore it is enough also for the celebrating the communion. For if we should use another garment herein, it should seem to teach us that higher and better things be given by it than be given by the other service: which we must not believe. For in baptism we put on Christ: in the word we eat and drink Christ, as Hierom and Gregory write. And Austin saith, the word is as precious as this Sacrament, in saying, 'He sinneth as much which negligently heareth the word as he which willingly letteth Christ's Body fall to the ground.' And Chrysostom saith, 'He which is not fit to receive is not fit to pray.' Which were not true, if prayer were not of as much importance as the communion."—*Strype*, ii. App. 14.

† The draft was altered in this respect.

no mercy; and some of them to be in another place, and to lack help and mercy.”*—“Why have you omitted the prayer *O merciful Father* in the Consecration, which was in the First Book?”†—“Because it is taken to be so necessary for the Consecration that the Consecration is thought not to be without it. But petition is no part of consecration. Christ in ordaining the Sacrament made no petition, but a thanksgiving.”—“Why have you ordered the Sacrament to be received in the hands of the people?”‡—“Because Christ gave the Sacrament into the hands of the Apostles. And there is a Constantinopolitan Decree about it.”—“Why have you allowed to receive standing or kneeling?”§—“It is as old as Justin, who says that we should rather stand than kneel in praying on a Sunday, because it is a sign of the Resurrection.”||

* This seems to misrepresent entirely the prayer for the dead in the Communion of Edward’s First Book. And what follows is equally wrong: “As though they were not all alike redeemed, and brought to heaven by Christ’s merits: but some deserved it, as it is said of martyrs; and some for lack of such perfectness were in purgatory, as it is spoken of the meaner sort.” There is nothing at all like this in the First Book.

† The words “Hear us, O merciful Father,” if they were taken out in the draft, were put back in the Book.

‡ This was not new. It was in the Second Book.

§ If this was in the first draft of Elizabeth’s Book, it was taken out.

|| It may be worth adding that “the great Book of England” (by which he meant his old friend of Frankfort, the Second Book of Edward) received about this time the censure of John Knox from Dieppe. “I will never counsel any man to use one of those diabolical inventions, viz., crossing in baptism, kneeling at the Lord’s table, mummuting and singing of the Litany, a *fulgure et tempestate, et subitanea et improvisa morte*: Sacraments ministered without the soul, that is without the Word truly and openly preached, and by those who to our Saviour were no true ministers, I pray they yet be not so; but they had been mass-mongering priests: they were newly created singers or sayers of matins and even-song and of Communion, churching women, burying the dead with *commendo cinerem cineri*: whereof I find no point enjoined to Christ’s ministers, but only to preach Christ crucified, and to minister the Sacraments in such simplicity as they had received them from Him.” Knox to Anna Lock, April 6.—*State Pap. For.*, p. 204.

The censures of Bishop Scot are contained in his speech in Parliament against the Bill for Uniformity, which we have already considered. They were more severe, or hostile, toward the new Book; but his review seems to be extended to all the English Books; and that with which he compared them was, as it might be expected, the Latin Service. "The new Book," exclaimed Scot, "takes away, *ex professo*, the institution of Christ for the matter and substance of the Sacraments; it takes away the ordinances of the Apostles for the form of the same; and it turns to nought the additions of the holy Fathers for adorning and perfecting the administration. As to the last of these three heads, there are in the Mass the *Confiteor*, *Misereatur*, *Kyrie eleison*, *Sequentes Preces*, *Sanctus*, *Agnus Dei*, and such other things, which are all taken away.* As to the second, the ordinances of the Apostles, as Blessings, Crossings; and in divers of the Sacraments, Exsufflations, Exorcisms, Inunctions, Praying toward the East, Invocation of Saints, Prayer for the Dead: all taken away, in part or clearly. But in the greatest of all, the Institution of the Lord's Supper by Christ, of which the favourers of this Book talk so much, there is in this Book neither Consecration, nor Offering, nor Communication. Not Consecration; for by the order of this Book the priest neither takes the Bread in his hand, nor blesses it, nor

* In the Latin Mass the *Confiteor* and *Misereatur*, and a number of other prayers, were in the beginning of the Ordinarium. They were omitted in the First Book of Edward, and since. The *Kyrie* and *Agnus Dei* were retained in the same First Book: but the latter was omitted in the Second, and in Elizabeth's Book; the former in Edward's Second Book, where the Ten Commandments were added to the Communion, was made into a respond to them, and so remained in Elizabeth's Book. The *Sequentes Preces* were divers prayers after the Host was put into the chalice, omitted in Edward's First Book, and since.

breaks it : nor when he rehearses the words of Christ, 'This is my Body,' by which words the Bread is consecrated, has he any regard or respect to the Bread, but repeats them as if he were telling a tale, or rehearsing a story. Not Offering or Oblation of the Blessed Body and Blood of our Saviour unto God the Father : for though the words which Christ spoke are the same which the priest speaks, and so the sacrifice is the same ; and though the Fathers manifestly affirm Christ to be offered daily after an unbloody manner, yet the authors of this Book willingly take away the Oblation or Sacrifice offered unto God the Father in the Mass.* If these men understood what follows in their affirmation, I think they would leave their rashness, and return to the truth. For if that they say be true, that there is no external Sacrifice in the New Testament, then it follows that there is no priesthood under the same, whose office is to offer up gifts and sacrifices for sin, as St. Paul saith. And if there be no priesthood, then there is no religion under the New Testament. Again, in this Book there is no Communication, no holy Communion : this Communion is holy only in word, not in deed : for the thing is not there that should make

* The Oblation of the Host followed the Offertory in the Mass, and began with the prayer "Suscipe, Sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, hanc immaculatam Hostiam, quam ego indignus famulus tuus offero Tibi Deo meo vivo et vero, pro innumerabilibus peccatis, offensionibus et negligentis meis, et pro omnibus circumstantibus ; sed et pro omnibus fidelibus Christianis, vivis atque defunctis : ut mihi et illis proficiat ad salutem in vitam æternam." This part of the service disappeared entirely in the Edwardian and Elizabethan Books. That it was taken away "willingly" or with express design is certain, for it was against it that the Article 31, *Of the one Oblation of Christ*, was directed : in which Article the language of this Prayer is plainly referred to : "missarum Sacrificia, quibus vulgo dicebatur sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem pœnæ aut culpæ, pro vivis et mortuis," &c. To this it was that Bishop Scot probably alluded.

it holy : I mean the Body and Blood of Christ. There are in the Mass certain prayers to be said before the Consecration ; and in those prayers are the words *Ut nobis fiat Corpus et Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, declaring the intent of the Church and of the priest who says Mass : in the new Book there is nothing to declare any such intent, but rather the contrary, as appears by the words *That we receiving these Thy creatures of Bread and Wine*, declaring that they intend no Consecration at all. Let them glory in their Communion as much as they will, it is to no purpose, seeing that the Body of Christ is not there, which is the thing to be communicated.* It must be acknowledged that the Bishop's strictures were so far well founded that in Elizabeth's Prayer Book, no more than in the Second Book of Edward, there were no manual acts prescribed in consecration. To Bishop Scot's strictures may be added the objection urged by another Romanensian, the excellent Dean Boxall of Peterborough, one of the Council of the late Queen, that there was no thanksgiving in the consecration.† To finish the comparison, the

* See Scot's oration in Strype, App. 10 (vol. ii).

† "After this Book was passed, Boxall and others quarrelled with it, that according to the order of the Scripture we had not *gratiarum actio* : 'for,' saith he, '*Dominus accepit panem, gratias agit*, but in the time of consecration we give no thanks.' This he put into the Treasurer's head, and into the Count de Feria's head, and he laboured to alienate the Queen's Majesty from confirming of the Act, but I trust they cannot prevail. Mr. Secretary is earnest with the Book ; and we have ministered reasons to maintain that part."—Sandys to Parker, Parker's *Corresp.* p. 65. From this it appears that an attempt was made to induce the Queen to withhold her assent to the Book, after it had gone through Parliament. Boxall in 1556 had been "sworn and admitted one of the King and Queen's Majesties' Council at large, and one of the Masters of Requests and a Councillor of that Court.—*Acts of the Privy Council*, v. 359. He seems to have been at Court still. His objection to the Book was groundless.

Declaration of kneeling, known as the Black Rubric, entirely disappeared in Elizabeth's Book. The Litany was inserted, as used in the Queen's chapel, with the Prayer for the Queen that was added to it, when it was printed for use there. In the Ordinal the old "Oath of the King's Supremacy" with its Supreme Head, and its blunt renunciation of the Bishop of Rome, which is found in both the Books of Edward, was replaced by that milder "Oath of the Queen's Sovereignty" which has been already perused in the Elizabethan Act of Supremacy.

From the day when the new revised Book was used in the Queen's chapel so long before the time appointed by the Act for enforcing it, the current of events began to run more swift against the Romanensians. The chapel was echoed by Paul's Cross, where, on the same Whitsun Day, a sermon was preached by Grindal, the Lord Keeper Bacon and the whole Council being present: and amid the rejoicing manifestations of the Lords and of the people the preacher proclaimed the restoration of the Book of King Edward.* No bishop, no canon of St. Paul's was present, and the great cathedral church, with some other churches, still adhered to the Latin service: but the greater part of the city went with the stream,† although only two months before, Mass was still said all over London, and although only a month before, on St. Mark's Day, divers parishes went in procession with their banners, singing in Latin *Kyrie eleison* after the old fashion.‡

* "The preacher proclaimed the restoring of the Book of King Edward, whereat the Lords and the people made (or at least pretended) a wonderful rejoicing. Never a Bishop or Canon of Paul's was present thereat."—*State Pap. Foreign*, p. 287, also Churton's *Life of Nowell*, p. 392. Nowell knew the value of these rejoicings. † *Ib.*

‡ *Ven. Cal.* p. 47, March 14; Machyn, 196, April 25.

After this, down to the day when the English Book came in by law, there was a succession of the strongest Evangelics at the Cross: Horne, Barlow, Sandys, Jewel, Sunday after Sunday.* It was noticed by foreigners that the Feast of Corpus Christi, May 25, was not observed: the shops were open, the people everywhere at work, and in her chapel on that day the Queen declined to allow the Holy Communion, although the new French ambassador desired it.† It was noticed that on St. George's Day the Queen accompanied indeed the procession of the knights through the Court, but it was without the golden and silver crosses that were wont to be carried: on the morrow the annual Mass for the dead of the Order was celebrated without elevation, and at the last moment she excused herself from being present thereat. About this time the Reformers or Evangelics, or at least those of them who had preached before her, laid before her a long Declaration of their doctrines and opinions, which is a document of some value.

This Declaration has escaped the publication which the authors of it designed for it, and has received little notice in history. But if it bears the images of the hammers wherewith it was forged, it forms a link in the chain of English Confessions, between the Forty-two Articles and the Thirty-nine.‡ It is professedly

* Machyn, 197, or Strype, i. 198.

† The new French ambassador, with the other ambassadors, went into the Queen's chapel, and in her presence he took the oaths: "and he offered to take the Communion, that being Corpus Christi day, which festival was celebrated all over the world, except in England, but her Majesty did not wish it: so they were not much edified by this, or by seeing the people working all over London, and the shops open on that day."—*Ven. Cal.* p. 93.

‡ This document is in C.C.C. Cambridge Library, MSS. cxxi, "Synodalia," No. 20. It has never been printed, though from a letter of Sandys quoted by Strype the authors seem to have designed to publish it as soon

based on the Forty-two, the Edwardian Articles, which it recapitulates and occasionally expands or interprets, and which it would have followed numerically, but that the apologetic purpose, which was to

as Parliament was ended. Strype gives an account of it, and has printed in full the long introduction and conclusion.—*Annals*, i. 167. Hardwick has made some discriminating remarks on it in a note in his *History of the Articles*, ch. vi. As it really seems to form a link between the Forty-two and the Thirty-nine Articles, and is of great apologetic interest, I offer the following account of it. The document has on it the title, "A Declaration of doctrine offered and exhibited by the protestants to the Queen at the first coming over of them." The first four words of this title, which are on a separate line, are older than the rest, and in a different ink. The rest is in sixteenth-century writing, but, as might be expected, later; for Protestant was not an admitted designation at the beginning of Elizabeth, neither was this Declaration made "at the first coming over" of the Evangelic exiles. The Declaration begins on the next leaf with the long preface or prologue printed by Strype, to the effect that Satan, the inventor of all the heresies, often slandered the setters forth of the doctrines of the Gospel as if they were heretics. It then proceeds to the statement of doctrine, or Articles, thus: "And first of all, as true members, &c." (as in text) "we do believe in heart and with mouth confess that there is but one living and true God" (the rest as our Article). "Item, that the Son" (the rest almost as our Articles 2, 3, 4: but there is added to Art. 2, "who also in His soul descended into Hell, where He was not left, according as both David and Peter do witness, but did truly rise up again the third day from the dead, and took again His Body with flesh," &c., as in Art. 4). Then, an acceptance of all things contained in the canonical Scriptures, and of the Three Creeds (part of our Art. 6 and our Art. 8; 5 and 7 of the Forty-two Articles, giving rise to the list of canonical books in our present Art. 6). Then (as a second part of this stated acceptance) a condemnation of "all old heresies" with the enumeration of them given in text. Then the piece about the Christian emperors, as in text. Then, "Furthermore we acknowledge that holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation," &c. (our Art. 6, except the latter part about the canonical books, which that Article did not then contain, but which was briefly given above in this document). Then follow other Articles which are numbered, beginning at number one, and constituting a different part of the document. Now why are those first seven of the Forty-two Articles (the first eight of the Thirty-nine) cast together into one confession of faith, while the rest are enumerated? Because they were doctrines the denial or perversion of which was heresy properly speaking: doctrines which they who held could not be called heretics without abuse of language; and on holding which the writers of the Declaration justly rested their claim to be Catholics, not heretics.

repel the charge of heresy, altered the order in a remarkable way. In a long preface or prologue the authors declare that though in the late disputation at Westminster they had sufficiently set forth a sum of

The enumerated Articles which followed were not such that no variation of opinion on them could be allowed by men of catholic mind. They were as follows, and they generally followed the Forty-two Articles in their headings. 1. "Of original or birth Sin" (8 of the Forty-two, 9 of the Thirty-nine). 2. "Of Free-will *and Grace*" (9 of the Forty-two, 10 of the Thirty-nine). But it adds, "For the Grace of God or the Holy Ghost by Him given doth take away the stony heart," so as to make the Article to be of Grace, according to the title. This sentence is the beginning of Art. 10 of the Forty-two, "Of Grace": which Article is entirely omitted in the Thirty-nine, which contain no Article "Of Grace." 3. "Of Predestination and Election" (17 of Forty-two and Thirty-nine). It turns "as vessels made to honour" into "that be vessels made to honour." It adds at end the following apology:—"This Article of God's predestination and election, as it is most true, so it is a high and weighty matter and a most deep mystery: and therefore when just cause is offered to entreat of it either in sermons or otherwise, it is to be done with great consideration and discernment; and the hearers or readers of books written in these matters ought to lay apart all carnal curiosity, as it is aforesaid in the Article. For whosoever gathereth upon the consideration of God's election or of the weakness of man's nature either encouragement to carnal and ungodly life, either a dulness or slothfulness to piety and godly exercises, let him assure himself that he hath no right consideration neither of himself nor of God's merciful sure goodness promised us in Christ. For those agitations which proceed from God's Spirit tend always to the overthrow of the Devil's work and sin, and not contrariwise to minister provocations unto sin. And although many godly men in these our days will think that in this our corrupt age, in the which men are given to all rashness of judgment and dissoluteness of life, and do not weigh the mysteries of our faith with such Christian humility as they ought to do, it were best that such Articles should be passed over in silence (indeed we do think that discreet ministers will speak sparingly and circumspectly of them, and that upon the considerations before rehearsed), yet notwithstanding, seeing some men of late are risen which do gainsay and oppugn this truth, we cannot utterly pass over this matter with silence, both for that the Holy Ghost doth so often make mention of it in the Scriptures, especially in St. Paul's Epistles, which argues it to be a thing fruitful and profitable to be known: and also being occasioned by the same reason which moved St. Augustine to write of this matter of predestination: whose words are these: *Judicatur verum maxime ubi aliqua quæstio ut dicatur impellit*, &c., from *De Bono Perseverantiæ* cap. 26. *Let the truth therefore, saith St. Augustine, be spoken, especially*

doctrine, yet it was necessary to repeat it against the slanders of those who called them heretics and said that they who had preached before the Queen differed from their brethren: "Most untruly reporting of us that our

when any questioning requireth it to be spoken, lest peradventure while it is kept in silence for their sakes which cannot receive it, they which are able to receive the truth and thereby avoid falsehood be not only defrauded or kept back from the truth, but also be caught with falsehood and error. These and many other like causes, which St. Augustine writeth in the book aforementioned, wherein he answereth to the objections of them that are of the contrary mind, have moved us also at this time not to pass over this Article (and yet not without a charitable admonition), seeing that some even in these our days (who also pretend the name of the Gospel) do oppugn this and other Articles touching the doctrines of grace and our free justification and salvation by Christ, for the which we are right sorry. Notwithstanding we do not despair but that such are curable; and through fair and open preaching of the Gospel will be brought to see and understand the truth better than hitherto they have done. For truth it is that these and other most grievous errors have increased in this realm in these late years for want of true preaching. Experience declareth that even as in other countries, where the preaching of God's word is not permitted, all horrible heresies and sects do most flow and abound."

4. Of Justification and Good Works (a new Article answering to 11, 12, 13 of the Forty-two, causing 11 to be recast, and a new Article, "Of good works," to be added in the Thirty-nine). "It is a most certain, wholesome, and grounded doctrine set forth in the Holy Scripture, and most earnestly and diligently maintained of St. Paul, that a man is justified by faith only without all works of the law. In which sentence by this word Justification is understood pardon or remission of sins, as free acceptance into God's favour and a full and perfect reconciliation to God for Christ's sake, wherein Christ's righteousness is imputed. And faith in this place is a certainty and full persuasion wrought in the heart of man through the Holy Ghost, whereby he is assured of the mercy of God promised in Christ, that his sins are forgiven him, that he is made the Child of God, and inheritor of everlasting salvation, and that freely of God's good will and mercy, without all respect of works and deserving of our parts. Wherefore no works going before this Justification, for that they proceed not of the Holy Ghost nor of faith (without which nothing is acceptable to God), neither do nor can in any wise deserve, or help to this work of our Justification, but they are before God unclean and sin. After this reconciliation to God, thus wrought through the Spirit of God, necessarily follow all kind of good works. For the Spirit of God in the just is no idle Spirit, but continually moveth and striveth to work the will of God, acknowledging to that end they are made just, to exercise and practise the works of justice. And

doctrine is detestable heresy, that we are fallen from the doctrine of Christ's Catholic Church, that we be subtle sectaries, that we dissent among ourselves, and that every man nourisheth and maintaineth his own

that a Christian man being thus freely saved by grace may not afterward live according to his fleshly liking, but must remember that he is created anew in Christ Jesus unto good works, which, as St. Paul saith, God hath prepared for him to walk in : and therefore according to the words of Scripture he must also call upon God diligently by faithful and fervent prayer, as being of himself liable to do nothing, but in all his doing referring him wholly to God the fountain of all goodness, who not only commandeth us to pray, but also hath made us a promise whensoever we call upon Him to hear our prayers. He must fast and use sobriety in meats and drinks to subdue the body and make it obedient to the spirit. He must distribute liberally and gladly to his poor and needy brethren, knowing that he that is merciful shall find mercy, and he that soweth sparingly shall reap thereafter. Finally he must so use himself in all his life that his works may shine before men, that they may glorify God the Father which is in Heaven. This both is and ever hath been our manner of teaching, and that not in corners but before the face of the world. Wherefore they are the more to blame that wrongfully oppress us with untrue reports, saying that we utterly condemn fasting, prayer, and all other good works : for notwithstanding we find fault with superstition and abuse in prayer, as to use a multitude of vain words without mind, which thing Christ Himself condemneth in the Gospel, or to pray in a strange or unknown tongue, which is both against the doctrine of St. Paul and also against the whole order of the Primitive Church ; or else to pray to saints, which hath no manner of warrant of God's word : yet we confess and teach that true prayer, which standeth not in the number of words but in godly affection of mind, and, as Christ saith, in spirit and truth, is the only comfort that a Christian man can find in all his adversities, and his only refuge to obtain aid, succour, and strength at God's hands. And albeit we dislike hypocritical fasting in superstitious choice of days or meats, in fancying of holiness more in one kind of meat than another, in neglecting the true fast that standeth in abstaining from evil doing, which abuse both Christ Himself and St. Paul and also the prophet Esaie findeth fault withal : yet we withdraw not the people from the right and Christian fast that is taught us in the Holy Scriptures, joined with humiliation of the mind and fervent prayer, as in the example of the Ninevites and other. Nor from the observing of good and politic orders for the diversity of meats appointed by common authority. Neither are we teachers of carnal liberty, as some men have reported us to be, but have at all times allowed and highly commended all such godly exercises as do tend to the mortification of the flesh or preparation of the mind to godly contemplation, so that they be done without opinion of merits or

opinion, that we be teachers of carnal liberty, condemning fasting, prayer, alms, and like godly exercises." They then proceed to the declaration of doctrine, or Articles, "as true members of the Catholic Church of

satisfaction for sins, which is the only office of Christ, and cannot be attributed to any work of man without blasphemy." 5. No man is without sin but Christ alone (14 of Forty-two, 15 of Thirty-nine). 6. Of the Church (20 of Forty-two, 19 of Thirty-nine), the last paragraph differs as follows: "As the principal Churches of the East have at sundry times fallen into error touching Arianism and the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, so the Church of Rome both hath and doth err not only in life and manners (as is notoriously known to all the world) but also in divers matters of faith and religion. As in challenging their supremacy by God's word, in taking away from the lay people the one part of the Sacrament, in promising to save souls out of purgatory by masses, and other manifest errors." 7. Of the authority of the Church. (The same as 21 of the Forty-two, and lacking, like it, the first sentence of 20 of the Thirty-nine. "The Church hath power to decree . . . controversies of faith.") 8. Of Purgatory (the same as ours). 9. No man may minister in the congregation except he be called (the same). 10. "It is against the word of God and the custom of the primitive Church to use a tongue unknown of the people in common prayer and ministration of the Sacraments." (Altogether different from 25 of the Forty-two, exactly corresponding to the Latin, and nearly the same as the English of 24 of the Thirty-nine: of which therefore it is the first appearance.) 11. Of the Sacraments. (The same as in Forty-two and Thirty-nine: but omitting "and yet not that of the work wrought, as some men speak . . . a very superstitious sense," which is in Forty-two but not in Thirty-nine.) 12. The wickedness of the Ministers, &c. (the same as Forty-two and Thirty-nine). 13. Of Baptism (the same). 14. Of the Lord's Supper. (This is the same as the Forty-two and Thirty-nine for the first paragraph, down to "the cup of blessing is a communion of the Blood of Christ.") It then, instead of the following condemnation of Transubstantiation (and of the Bodily Presence in the Forty-two), proceeds thus: "So that in the due administration of this holy Supper we do not deny all manner of Presence of Christ's Body and Blood: neither do we think or say that this Holy Sacrament is only a naked and a bare sign or figure, in the which nothing else is to be received of the faithful but common bread and wine; as our adversaries have at all times most untruly charged us. And yet we do not allow the corporal, carnal, and real presence which they teach and maintain, affirming Christ's Body to be sensibly handled of the priest, and also corporally and substantially to be received with the mouth as well of the wicked as of the godly. For that were contrary to the Scripture, both to remove Him out of heaven where concerning His natural Body He shall continue to the end of the

Christ, that is, of that Church that is founded and grounded upon the doctrine of the prophets and apostles": in the course of which they are particular in enumerating the ancient heresies. "We condemn

world, and also by making His Body bodily present in so many sundry and several places at once to destroy the proprieties of His human nature. Neither do we allow the fond error of transubstantiation, or change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ, which, as it is repugnant to the words of Scripture and contrary to the plain assertions of ancient writers, so doth it utterly deny the nature of a sacrament. But we affirm and confess that as the wicked, in the unworthy receiving of this holy Sacrament, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, so to the believer and worthy receiver is verily given and exhibited whole Christ, God and man, with the fruits of His passion. And that in the distribution of this holy Sacrament, as we with our outward senses receive the sacramental bread and wine; and inwardly by faith and through the working of God's Spirit we are made partakers vere et efficaciter of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, and are spiritually fed therewith unto everlasting life. And we also confess, and ever have done, that by the celebrating and right receiving of this mystery and holy Sacrament we enjoy divers and singular comforts and benefits. For herein we are assured of God's promises of the forgiveness of sins, of the pacifying of God's wrath, of our resurrection and everlasting life. Herein also by the secret operation of God's Holy Spirit our faith is increased and confirmed, we are made one with Christ and He with us, we abide in Him and He in us, we are stirred up to unity and mutual charity, to joyfulness of conscience and patient suffering for Christ's sake, and finally to continual thanksgiving to our merciful heavenly Father for the wonderful work of our salvation purchased in the death and bloodshed of our Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ." It will not escape the reader that this has greatly influenced 28 of the Thirty-nine. It is especially noticeable that the passage in 29 of the Forty-two, "Forasmuch as the truth of man's nature . . . in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," which is omitted in the Thirty-nine, has no equivalent here. 15. Of the perfect oblation of Christ made upon the cross. (The same as 30 of the Forty-two: and indeed of 31 of the Thirty-nine, though it has not *blasphema*. Also it differs from both in reading "the sacrifice of the masses" instead of the sacrifices.) *There is no doubt about this.* 16. The State of single life (equivalent). 17. Traditions of the Church. (Nearly the same, but shorter than 33 of the Forty-two and 34 of the Thirty-nine.) "It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one or utterly like. For at all times they have been diverse and may be changed not only by General Councils but also by particular churches, according to the diversities of the countries and men's manners, so that they be not against God's word, and make to edification."

all old heresies of the Ebionites, Cerinthians, Marcionites, Valentinians, Arians, Manichees, Eunomians, Sabellians, Macedonians, Nestorians, Eutychians, and all such like, which withstand any article of these

18. Christian men's goods (the same as the Forty-two and Thirty-nine).
 19. Christian men may take oath (the same as the Forty-two and Thirty-nine). Then is added this apology, or further preamble to the remaining Articles. "Furthermore whereas through the malice of the evil minded we have been reported to be sowers of sedition and teachers of disobedience against magistrates, how untruly we have been charged herewithal we refer us to the judgment of the godly, and we appeal to the conscience of the indifferent. For as we have at all times most earnestly taught all due obedience unto magistrates, so have we ever and most gladly obeyed them ourselves in God, according to His word, neither have we at any time stood against the ordinary power, but rather have chosen to suffer than to rebel, to bear injuries than to avenge. And albeit our doctrine and doings can both bear witness unto us in this behalf, and also sufficiently clear us, notwithstanding lest through the evil tongue of such as cannot speak well, the simple should be abused and our ministry depraved, we have thought it necessary briefly to declare our mind and judgment concerning the present state and government of this realm, which is now by the merciful providence of God most justly descended to our most virtuous and Sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth, that the world may understand and see how wrongfully we have been slandered. Therefore with the assurance and persuasion of good conscience surely grounded upon God's word, we protest, affirm, and confess as followeth." 20. Of the civil magistrates. (It omits Supreme Head, with which 36 of the Forty-two begins: it omits the next clause about the Bishop of Rome: it begins with "The civil magistrate is ordained and allowed of God, wherefore we must obey him not only for fear of punishment, but also for conscience sake," a clause that is in the Forty-two, but not in the Thirty-nine. It then proceeds, "Some are born to be Kings or Queens, and so by inheritance come to the kingdoms as such to whom by the ordinary received laws the imperial crown or regiment of kingdoms and countries descendeth by inheritance and not by choice or election. The word of God doth not condemn the government or regiment of a woman, but that such women as by succession, inheritance, or other just title according to the orders and policies of the realm are placed in such estate, are lawful magistrates, and are no less in any respect to be obeyed and honoured in all lawful things than if they were men, kings, princes," &c.) 21. "A tyrant, or evil magistrate, which by succession or election attaineth to any princely estate or government, is a power ordained of God, and is also to be honoured and obeyed of the people in all things not contrary to God, as their magistrate and governor. It is not lawful for any private person or persons to kill

Creeds." These were the heresies proper, to be distinguished from the modern misuse of the term. In language not inadequate they claimed the name which their adversaries denied them: "And therefore according to the ancient laws of the Christian emperors Gratianus, Valentinianus, and Theodosius, we do justly vindicate and challenge to ourselves the name of Christian Catholics: which emperors decreed that all they which according to the doctrine of the Apostles and Evangelists do confess one Godhead of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, under one Godly

or by any means to procure the death of a tyrant or evil person being the ordinary magistrate. All conspiracies, seditions, and rebellions of private men against the magistrates, men or women, good governors or evil, are unlawful and against the will and word of God." 22. "The Queen's Majesty that now is, Queen Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, &c. is by most just and true title according to the laws and policies of this realm of England the lawful Queen and Supreme Governor of the realms of England and Ireland. And therefore by God's word ought of all the subjects of the same realms so to be respected, honoured, and in God most humbly obeyed." 23. Punishment of death, Christian men may wear weapons (the same as 36 of Forty-two, and 37 of Thirty-nine). 24. "The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England *by the word of God.*" (So in 36 of Forty-two, and 37 of Thirty-nine, but the five last words are here only.) Then follows the epilogue or conclusion, which Strype has printed. It is interesting to notice that the names of the ancient heresies are written in large letters, and those of the Christian emperors, mentioned in the first part of this document, are all in capital letters, for the sake of emphasis. It is not only in the several additions or alterations, some of them minute, that the influence of this Declaration is apparent in the Thirty-nine Articles: but also in the exclusion of some of the Forty-two Articles. The Declaration and the Thirty-nine Articles alike exclude Art. 10, "Of Grace": 16, "Of Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost": 19, "All men are bound to keep the moral commandments of the law": and the last four Articles of the Forty-two, of which the very last is extremely Calvinistic. Altogether the Declaration is more moderate than the Forty-two Articles, and is written with much quiet dignity. The authors of it appear to have been the preachers who preached before the Queen, and the disputants at the Westminster Conference, or some of them. I have received very great kindness and assistance from Mr. Moule, the Librarian of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, in examining this important manuscript.

Majesty and Trinity, should have and enjoy the name of Christian Catholics." They unmistakingly disavowed the attack which Knox had made on the Queen: "The word of God doth not condemn the government or regiment of a woman." Tyrannicide and conspiracy they pronounced to be forbidden.*

It was begun to offer the Oath of the Queen's Supremacy, which the Act contained and the Ordinal rehearsed, to the bishops before the day appointed to bring in the English Service. As things had taken the turn that they had, it was better to put the bishops to the test at once; if they refused it the penalty by the Act was deprivation. It was better to deprive them before they felt themselves compelled to resign. If they refused, and were not deprived, they could scarcely have continued in their sees, and gone on tendering to their ordinands an oath which they themselves would not take. But it is not impossible that some hope was entertained of their compliance. Some of them, Heath, Bonner, Tunstall, Thirlby, had taken out in Henry's reign those curious instruments, or royal licenses for exercising episcopal jurisdiction, sealed with that seal for ecclesiastical causes: and had renewed them at the beginning of Edward.† One of them, Kitchin, had taken that most explicit denial of the Pope, which may be distinguished as the Veil-removed-Oath, at his consecration.‡ There was nothing in the new Oath

* It may be worth notice that this important document was asked for from Cecil by Archbishop Parker some years after, in 1566. "I pray your honour to cause your clerk to seek up the Book of Articles which were subscribed by all the professors of the Gospel newly arrived from beyond the sea, which book was presented to the Queen's Majesty. I would gladly have it for two or three days, and then I would not fail to return it again."—*Corresp.* 290. This may account for it being among the Parker papers at Cambridge.

† Vol. II. pp. 167 and 413 of this work.

‡ "I, Anthony, Bishop of Llandaff elect, having now the veil of dark-

which they had not accepted already. Even the rest of them, whose consecration was of the time of Mary, might be thought willing to obey as a law the Act which they had opposed as a Bill. But they could not, if they would. The dreadful memory of the persecution hung around them, though most of them had shown marvellous mercy, and though, considering the reckless baseness of the lay legislature, the wonder was not that the victims had been so many but that they were so few. There was the remembrance of disturbing visitations and citations, of examinations and imprisonments, in dioceses where there had been no burnings; and the reluctance with which the bishops had moved, under the continual spur of the Court and the laity, was the more easily forgotten that it was convenient to make them the butts of the indignation of a self-excusing remorse. It is difficult to see that they could have remained with any advantage.

On May 23, in accordance with the Act, letters patent were issued to certain persons, laymen all, for ministering the Oath: to Bacon, Winchester, Northampton, Arundel, Shrewsbury, Derby, Bedford, Pembroke, Clinton, Howard of Effingham, Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Francis Knowles, Cecil, Cave, Sackville, Mason. This was the first Commission under the Act of Supremacy: but it cannot be considered the forerunner of the Court of High Commission, which followed soon after. It was a very extraordinary tribunal, for it consisted of the Privy Council itself.* It differed from the High Commission in having no general jurisdiction, and in having

ness of the usurped power, authority, and jurisdiction of the See and Bishop of Rome clearly taken away from mine eyes," &c.—*Strype's Cranmer*, Book i. ch. 29.

* This is the remark of Doctor Gee.

no ecclesiastics on it.* The work that it was to do was specific: it was to take of all high officers of the realm, ecclesiastical or temporal, of all archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, of all judges, mayors, and other lay officers, and of all tenants of the Crown "a certain corporal oath upon the Holy Gospels."† Six of them might act, if Bacon, Winchester, Arundel, Parry, Rogers, Knowles, or Cecil were of the six. The oath was the Oath in the Act. They sat in London. It was by this Commission that the Romanensian bishops were deprived. If it was accidental, it may be regarded as a happy thing, but perhaps it may be accepted as an order of the courtesy of the realm, that there were no ecclesiastical heads; that it was nobles, warriors, lawyers, orators, and poets who were empowered upon it; the circumstance may have appeared honourable or consolatory to the cohort of the hierarchs who endured their sentence, whose fall may have been the easier from a secular arm, not enwrapped in the degradation which had been meted out to their own martyred predecessors in the previous reign. At all events, when, for more than one reason, it was necessary to issue a short separate commission to meet the case of a single bishop, the model of this

* It is remarkable that a commission should have been issued to the Privy Council. The only ecclesiastic in the Council was Dean Wotton. He was not included in the Commission. His omission proves that it was not accidental then that the Commission had no ecclesiastic in it.

† "Dedimus vobis plenam potestatem et auctoritatem recipiendi de omnibus et singulis Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, et aliis personis ecclesiasticis, ac aliis Officiariis et Ministris Ecclesiasticis, cujuscunque status, dignitatis, præeminentiæ seu gradus fuerint, ac de omnibus et singulis judicibus temporalibus, justiciariis, Majoribus, ac aliis laicis seu temporalibus Officiariis et ministris, ac aliis quibuscunque personis habentibus feoda seu vadia nostra infra regnum nostrum Angliæ, aut aliqua dominia nostra, quoddam Sacramentum corporale super sacrosancta Evangelia—declaratum et specificatum in quodam Actu in Parlamento nostro," &c.—Rymer, xv. 519.

wider commission was followed, and to Bishop Bourne of Bath and Wells the Oath of the Act was vainly tendered by four laymen later in the year.*

The first to whom the Oath was tendered was the Bishop of London. Bonner seems to have been treated with some contumely from the day when the Queen refused to let him touch her hand at the beginning of the reign. He had been ordered by the Council to appear before them and produce all the commissions about heresy that had been made to him in the late reign; and when he came he was requested to repair to another chamber.† He was nevertheless used for hospitality by the Court: he received and lodged the new French ambassador Montmorenci and his suite, to whom he seems to have given splendid entertainment.‡ It was but a few days after this, May 30, that he, and with him Cole the Dean of St. Paul's, were summoned before the Commissioners, refused to take the Oath, and were deprived. His curious buoyancy deserted

* This commission to receive the corporal oath of Bourne is drawn up in the same language as the other commission for ministering the Oath. It is to four laymen, Humfrey Coles, John Horner of Cloford, Richard Warre, and Wm. Halley, Esq.: dated Oct. 18.—Rymer, xv. 545.

† "A letter to the Bishop of London to repair hither to-morrow at two of the clock in the afternoon, and at his coming to resort to Mr. Vice-chamberlain's chamber, and to bring with him all such commissions as were made to him and others for the examination and ordering of heresies and other misorders in the Church in the time of the late Queen." January 3, 1559.—*Privy Council Acts*, p. 36; Strype, i. 41. There is no other entry like that.

‡ "The 23 of May came from beyond the sea out of France and landed at Tower wharf, and came through London and unto my lord bishop of London Doctor Bonner, monsieur Montmorenci, two sons and . . . unto his palace to lie: and many lords and noblemen brought them to their lodging. The 24 of May the French were brought from the bishop's palace by land through Fleet Street unto the Queen's palace to supper, and there was the hall hanged with rich cloth of arras as ever was seen, &c. 25 May—they went by water unto Paul's wharf, and landed, and continually unto their lodging to the Bishop of London's to supper, for there were gorgeous apparel as hath been seen in these days."—Machyn, 197-8.

him not in the hour of trial, and he put on record in the briefest terms, without comment or complaint, his deprivation and the reason of it.* He may have thought of that former Commission of deprivation, some seven years before, on which he and Tunstall and Kitchin sat and deprived half a dozen bishops in two days.† His spiritualties were seized;‡ and he retired at first, it is said, to the trembling sanctuary of Westminster.§ Three weeks later, on a single day, June 21, five other bishops appeared before the Commissioners, and refused the Oath: the learned Hebraist Baines of Coventry and Lichfield, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, Scot of Chester, and two others, one of whom may have been Pate of Worcester.|| They were sent away, and summoned again in a week, June 26, before the Commissioners, who sat in Mincing Lane in the city. This time they were in company

* He wrote in his Eusebius: *Litera Dominicali A. an. dom. MDLIX, die Maii xxx, vocatus ad Concilium recusavi præstare juramentum: et omnino deprivatus.*—Strype, *Ann.*, ch. xi. (p. 205); Wood's *Ath. Ox.*, i. 372.

† See Vol. IV. p. 137 of this work; or Machyn, p. 58.

‡ June 2: Harmer's *i.e.* Wharton's *Specimen*, 151.

§ It is said that the Council tried to persuade him to resign, offering him a pension; and wanted to get the Dean to elect a new bishop; but, that they both refused, Bonner saying that he preferred death: that he would get his living by teaching, or resume the study of the law, or by gardening, which he knew as well as any gardener in the kingdom, or by begging, if the Queen would grant him to be a mendicant. The Council then told him, "We have nothing more to do with you for the present, so her Majesty will provide herself with another bishop." And he retired to Westminster, to his friend Feckenham.—*Venetian Cal.*, pp. 94, 100. He was much in debt, and took sanctuary to avoid his creditors: fears were entertained also for his personal safety.—*Ib.*

|| Machyn, 200. "The 21 of June was five bishops deprived: Lichfield, Carlisle, Westchester, Llandaff, and —." It is curious to read of Kitchin of Llandaff. He is mentioned also in the *Venetian Cal.* (p. 105) as deprived. He was not deprived. If at first he would not take the Oath, he took it at last. I have ventured to suggest that Machyn's other illegible bishop may have been Pate, because his spiritualties were seized a few days later, June 30.—Harmer's *Specimen*, 151.

with White and Watson, who came from the Tower, to which they had been committed after the Westminster disputation: and it is probable that now all seven were deprived together. They appeared humbly habited like simple and poor priests, to the grief of some who saw them; and followed by a throng of people with various exclamations, which they took patiently.* They were forbidden to depart from England, to preach or exhort, or to write against the orders and statutes of the Parliament, or give occasion to any insurrection, on pain of perpetual imprisonment. The Commissioners are said to have required them to give security and promise for one another.† They sat again in Friars Austin, Lord Winchester's place, a week later, July 5, when Heath and Thirlby of Ely were deprived, the latter having words with Lord Keeper Bacon, telling him that if the Queen continued to be governed by those about her, as she had begun, the kingdom would be ruined. Perhaps it was not unconnected with this altercation with a powerful layman that Thirlby received from the Queen a few days afterwards an order to pay "the present bishop of

* *Venetian Calendar*, p. 104; also *Spanish Calendar*, p. 79. It is not unlikely that at this time the bishops were treated with popular injustice. "They never creep out into public," wrote Parkhurst, "unless they are compelled to do so, lest perchance a tumult should arise among the people. Many call them butchers (*carnifices*) to their face." London, May 21.—*Zurich Letters*, i. 31.

† "They were greatly insulted and mocked at, and at last were ordered not to leave London until after September, and to go no further away than Westminster under pain of £500, and they had to find bail to that amount. The two were taken back to prison, and both they and the others deprived of their preferments *de facto*: since by law the doctors are still of opinion that they cannot be deprived for swearing to the laws of the country." Bishop Quadra to King Philip by Machyn, June 27.—*Spanish Cal.*, p. 79. Only White and Watson are mentioned as deprived at this session: and he says that while White was sent back to the Tower, Watson was "delivered free." June 26.—*Ib.* p. 201.

Ely" seven hundred pounds, and a further sum for dilapidations.* They sat again in the same month and deprived Morgan of St. David's, and Turberville of Exeter.† The deprivation of Tunstall followed in September.‡ In October, Bourne of Bath and Wells, Poole of Peterborough in November. Against the resistance and deprivation of so many may be set the deferred compliance of one, the Bishop of Llandaff: who appears to have been allowed a season of reflection which wrought favourably with him.§

Two days after the deprivation of the first company of these prelates, six new persons were elected, to

* "The 5th day of July was deposed of their bishoprics the Archbishop of York, Doctor Heath, and the Bishop of Ely, Doctor Thirlby, at my lord Treasurer's place at Friars Augustine."—Machyn, 203; *Spanish Cal.* 85.

† "They have deprived the bishops of Exeter and St. David's this week." Aquila to King Philip, July 13.—*Spanish Cal.* 89. Mr. Bridgett is unable to fix the date of these two deprivations. This letter brings it: but the editor of the *Spanish Calendar* questions whether July 13 be not a mistake for August 13. It seems likely: for the letter speaks of Tunstall as in London: and Tunstall was not in London before July 20.

‡ "The 28 day of September was Michaelmas Even. The old Bishop of Durham, Doctor Tunstall, was deposed of his bishopric of Durham, because he should not receive the rents for that quarter."—Machyn, 214. No doubt by the same Commission.

§ Kitchin's acceptance is a curious document, which seems to have the meaning that I have put on it. "Whereas the Q. Maj. of her bountiful grace hath differed the rendering of the Oath of her Supremacy to my further consideration within myself in the expending of God's learning, I do assure her Grace by these presents subscribed by my hand, that as a true and faithful subject, I shall for my power, cunning, and ability, set forth in mine own person, and cause all other under my jurisdiction, to accept and obey the whole course of religion now approved in the state of her Grace's realm: and shall also require the said oath of other receiving office ecclesiastical or temporal, as in the statute thereof provided. In witness whereof I have subscribed with mine own hand the xviii day of July in the first year of the reign of our said Sovereign Lady, Elizabeth, Queen of Engl. France and Irel. Defender of the Faith," &c. Ant. Landav.—Lamb's *Hist. Account of the Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 11. We have seen Kitchin in Parliament. He was among the silent dissentients to all the great ecclesiastical measures of the Session.

fill their sees or other sees that were vacant, on the day before the day appointed to bring in the English Service;* and the forbearance or at least the slowness shown by the Government in dealing with them is imputed by the modern Roman Catholic writers to the wish to have some of them to consecrate the elect Archbishop of Canterbury, Parker. The rest of the proceedings of this extraordinary Commission, before it quietly lapsed, were less remarkable. In discharging the other half of their duty, in ministering the Oath to the temporal officers of the State, as judges and justices, their diligence is not known to have been greatly effective. They met with denials and refusals when they took the advantage of the term to tender the Oath, as it was to be expected that they should. Those high laymen had not the shelter of obscurity.

* "The 23 day of June was elected six new bishops, come from beyond the sea, Master Parker, bishop of Canterbury, Master Grindal, bishop of London, doctor Scory, bishop of Hereford, Barlow Chichester, doctor Bill of Salisbury, doctor Cox Norwich."—Machyn, 201. This, the reader will easily see, is not altogether correct. They were not all returned exiles. Bill was not bishop at all, Cox not of Norwich.

In tracing the deprivations of the Romanensian bishops, I omit the absurd story of their summons to appear before the Queen, of Heath's haughty admonition to her, and her sublime reply. This story was imported into history by Strype out of an apocryphal book called *The Hunting of the Roman Fox*, of which book Strype thought the author to be Sir Henry Sidney. It was really by Robert Ware, son of the Irish Sir James Ware, and belongs to the seventeenth century. See Bridgett's *Hierarchy*, p. 49. This story has been repeated by Collier, Lingard, Soames, and Froude: the spurious source out of which it springs has infected the works of the sober Strype not inconsiderably. Thus, he makes the deprived bishops (Heath, Bonner, Poole, Bourne, and Turberville) address a ridiculous petition to the Queen in December of this year, and receive from her the answer of a pert schoolgirl.—*Annals*, i. 147. Next year he makes them send Parker "a terrifying letter," threatening and cursing the clergy for not acknowledging the Papacy; to which Parker writes a long reply.—*Life of Parker*, Bk. ii. ch. ii. p. 67. He also makes Calvin write to Parker to arrange for a common form of church government, and Parker lay the "noble offer" before the Council, and by their request write a courteous reply.—*Ib.*

Many of them had been active in the persecution, far more active than the deprived bishops. But when they refused, it was not found that their fellow-laymen were strict in pressing the matter home, and enforcing penalty.* The doctors of civil law made opposition to the deprivation of the bishops, as soon as it was begun, on the ground that they could not be deprived for disobeying a law whose adoption and promulgation they had always resisted, and which was made in opposition to the whole ecclesiastical body. So Bishop Quadra, the new Spanish ambassador, reported, and added that the doctors themselves refused to swear.†

The English Service, the Book of Common Prayer, for the second time dethroned its Latin rival in the churches of England on St. John Baptist's Day, June 24. The first use of it, ten years before, had been the signal of a religious war. Now it was received without resistance, beyond some protestations which awoke no popular response. Indeed, according to one contemporary authority, the day of adoption had been anticipated by the general acceptance of it.‡ At this the disappointment of the extreme Evangelics was as great as of the Romanensians, and the conduct of the leaders of the returned exiles has been censured here by the historians of their party.§ If the

* "The judges of England, as they are called, who have come here for the terms, have refused to swear, and are gone to their homes, as they have not dared to press them about it. The same thing will happen to many others; and it is thought they will not dare to press any one as they intended." Quadra, Bishop of Aquila, to Philip, June 19.—*Span. Cal.*, p. 76.

† *Ib.* pp. 76 and 79.

‡ "Liber communium precum, temporibus Edwardi regis usitatus, nunc iterum per totam Angliam in usu passim est, [et] ubique erit, renitentibus et reclamantibus pseudepiscopis." Parkhurst to Bullinger, May 21.—*Zurich Lett.*, p. 17.

§ "They had not the resolution to persevere: had they united counsels

most eminent of them, it is urged, had been resolved to press for a thorough reformation, they might have obtained it, whereas they were contented with the Prayer Book revived. But it must be remembered that the men who now stood forth as leaders, who were now advanced in honour, and preached before Queen, Parliament, and city, were the men who in their exile had stood for the Second Prayer Book of Edward against the extreme sort, and that the most violent of their former antagonists, so far from having the position of leaders, were either not returned, or were afraid to show themselves. Men like Whittingham were not returned; men like Goodman dared not show themselves. The ostensible leaders, such as Jewel, Grindal, Pilkington, to say nothing of Cox himself, were not likely to oppose the establishment of the same Book which formerly they had defended, now that it was laid upon the realm after a revision that might be thought to increase the woe and anguish of the other side. Nor, if they had desired, had they the power to interfere in any way with the course taken by Government, to enquire into Smith's Committee, or remonstrate with Parliament. They were at this time no more than spiritual men without promotion: for as yet, notwithstanding the honorific distinction with which they were treated, no provision had been made for any of them. It is like enough however that in foreign parts some of them may have been free of their tongues in conversing about the Book of England, that they had said things against it which they were not now ready to repeat, so that their present behaviour took a good

and stood by one another, they might at this juncture have obtained the removal of those grievances which afterward occasioned the separation."—Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 107.

deal of explaining to their friends, the pastors of the churches abroad. In their letters to them they lamented the slow progress of the settlement of religion, blaming the Queen and Court: they called the golden mediocrity which others (not themselves) were seeking a leaden mediocrity.* They failed not to receive an admonition to vigour and caution from some of the most eminent of the Reformed divines. "Ye who are set in any degree of dignity," cried Gualter of Zurich, "remember that the charge of religion and of the Church is laid upon you: and beware of the arts of those who contrive and obtrude upon the churches, under pretence of evangelic reformation, a mixed, dubious and ambiguous form of religion, from which the passage back again into papistical superstition and idolomania is as easy as can be. We have had enough of men of that sort in Germany, moderate men, promoting concord, allowing many things to remain, as it were only for a time, for fear of giving some offence at the beginning, which things cannot afterwards be ousted without desperate struggles. I know not if there be any such men among you, but I fear that there may be."† It was in vain. Worse yet remained behind. Some of the most eminent of these conforming exiles, such as Jewel, Sandys, or Pilkington, in being put on the great commissions for visiting the kingdom, which were presently issued this year, perhaps to provide temporally for their maintenance, went through the drill, became themselves the disciplinarians, of conformity.

* Look at their letters, especially Jewel's letters, in the first twenty or thirty pages of *Zurich Letters*, i.

† Gualter to Masters, Jan., *Zurich Lett.* ii. p. 11. Gualter had the assurance to write a long letter to the Queen containing the same sentences about the change of religion.—*Ib.* 3. He also wrote to Lord Russell in the like strain, p. 8.

Some of them after that refused not the promotion of the mitre itself, in accordance with their best convictions, acting for the welfare of the Church, that in so doing they were most effectively seeking the good of their less compliant brethren. And Gualter came to approve that they did, and to give very different advice to his friends in England.

It must not however be supposed that the Book was thoroughly obeyed by all who professed to receive it. The people were more willing than the priests. During the following months and years it was but too plainly brought to light that many of the Evangelics, whether returned exiles or not, behaved as if they were carrying out the perfidious advice of Peter Martyr, which he gave to some of them in his letters, to conform in part only, to preach, for example, but to declaim against the ceremonies still retained, and to refrain from administering the Sacraments.* As to the Romanensians, there were those of them who were men of effective conviction, and refused compliance from the first, there were those who complied with secret reluctance, and there were those who were not particularly addicted to Rome. On the whole, the great body of the clergy complied: but there were many churches left destitute for the time, especially in London, by the resignation of incumbents: some resigned, or were deprived because of the Oath, some

* "My very dear brother in Christ, I give you two pieces of advice: first that you still retain the function of preaching, and cease not both in public and private to defend the truth of doctrine, and to declaim against rites which are full of offence and occasions of falling. The other is that you abstain from the administration of the Sacraments, until these intolerable blemishes be removed. This is not only my advice, but the opinion of the excellent Bullinger." Martyr to Sampson, July 15.—*Zurich Lett.* ii. 27. In another letter he recommends any of them who might be promoted to bishoprics to bend their efforts to getting vestments abolished.—*Ib.* 32.

because of the Book : the proportion of dignitaries was very high. The destitution was so great in London that the ministers who remained, and those who were put into the places of the Romanensians, were obliged to serve three or four churches, and yet were not sufficient.*

On the same day that the English Service came in use, June 24, Royal Commissions began to be issued for the Visitation of the kingdom, a momentous event which occupied several months. The kingdom was parcelled into six circuits : London, Norwich, and Ely : Canterbury, Rochester, Chichester, and Winchester : Salisbury, Bristol, Bath, Exeter, and Gloucester : Lincoln, Peterborough, Lichfield, and Oxford : the whole Northern Province : the four Welsh sees with Worcester and Hereford. The Commissioners were, on paper, nearly all noblemen and gentlemen of quality, with a very small equipage of clergymen and lawyers. Any two of them might act, and the clergy were not specified of the quorum. But it was the clergy who did the work, along with the professors of civil or common law, the great laymen not concerning themselves to go the laborious circuit with them.† Their

* Strype gives a piece from the Diary of one Earl, a London curate, who wrote against the 24 June, "O blessed Day," and again, "Saint John Baptist's Day put the Pope away," and again, "Then was King Edward's Book restored to all men's comfort. And verily the people were most willing to receive the Book of Divine Service thus brought to us." Strype adds, "Yet he makes a note of exception to a few of Calvin's Church : that is, such as lately came from Geneva, and perhaps from some other places where his platform was followed. But yet of these he observed withal that many complied and obeyed."—*Annals*, i. 135.

† Strype has given these circuits and the names of the Commissioners. *Ib.* ch. 12. But he only gives five circuits instead of six, making no mention of the Canterbury one. And in the London one he oddly omits London, making mention only of Norwich and Ely in that circuit, and taking London by itself in a way. His lists are stuffed with lay figures. His deficiencies may be supplied from a list that remains, and was made

powers were extensive: and in some respects appeared to involve clerical character: to visit all churches, cathedral, collegiate, parochial; and all other ecclesiastical places; the clergy and people: to enquire into their life and conversation: to punish with deprivation, sequestration, or otherwise all offenders, and all who obstinately refused to subscribe to the religion now ordered.* The contumacious and rebellious of all conditions were to be coerced both by ecclesiastical censures, and by imprisonment or recognisance, and other legal remedy. Competent pensions were to be assigned to those who retired or resigned: license to preach was to be given to apt and able persons: and the relics of the late persecution were to be swept from

about the end of the Visitation.—*State Pap. Dom.* vii. No. 79. I will give this, as it contains only the men who did the work:—

<i>London</i>	} Robt. Horne, D.D. Thos. Huick, L.D. Jn. Salvyn, Esq.	<i>Lincoln</i>	} Thos. Bentham, P.D. Steph. Nevinson, L.D.
<i>Norwich</i>		<i>Peterborough</i>	
<i>Ely</i>		<i>Lichfield</i>	
		<i>Oxon.</i>	Wm. Fleetwood.
<i>Canterbury</i>	} Thos. Becon. Rt. Weston, L.D. Robt. Nowell.	<i>Ebor.</i>	} Edwin Sandys, D.D. Henry Harvey, D.L.
<i>Rochester</i>		<i>Dunelm.</i>	
<i>Chichester</i>		<i>Carlisle</i>	
<i>Winchester</i>		<i>Chester</i>	
<i>Sarum</i>	} John Jewel. Henry Parry. Thos. Lovelace.	<i>Worcester</i>	} Richd. Davies. Thos. Young. Rowland Merrick, L.D. Richd. Pate.
<i>Bristol</i>		<i>Hereford</i>	
<i>Bath</i>		<i>St. David's</i>	
<i>Exeter</i>		<i>St. Asaph</i>	
<i>Gloucester</i>		<i>Bangor</i>	
		<i>Llandaff</i>	

It is not worth while to give all Strype's full lists: but as a specimen, the Commissioners for the North were the Earl of Shrewsbury, President of the Council of the North, the Earl of Derby (who were both on the resident London Commission for taking the Oath also), the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Evers, the knights Percy, Gargrave, Crofts, and Gates, Squires Bowes, Estcot, Browne, Kingsmill, Dr. Sandys, and Dr. Harvey. The dates of these Commissions may be added: *North*, June 24; *Wales*, July 18; *Sarum*, July 19; *Lincoln*, July 22; *London*, Aug. 21; *Canterbury*, unknown.

* "Susceptæ religioni subscribere obstinate et peremptorie recusantes."

the gaols by the discharge of all remaining prisoners for religion after an enquiry of the causes of their imprisonment and condemnation. To do all this in ecclesiastical form, synods and chapters, both general and special, of clergy and people, were to be convoked in all places.* Complaints were to be carried to some Commissioners or Delegates residing in London, with whom an appeal lay, of whom anon.† This itinerary carried with them Injunctions and Articles to be enquired: in their company, through their instruments we may survey the kingdom: and then returning to the capital we may observe the resident Commissioners concerned with the dismissal of those of the hierarchs, who were not yet deprived.

The Injunctions which the Ambulatory Commissioners carried, the Injunctions of Elizabeth, were the

* Collier has given a somewhat distorted view of this Commission: that by it any two laymen could exert the highest censures of the Church: that there was nothing to stop them from dealing excommunication: that they could convoke synods, and demand synodals and procurations, excommunicating those who would not pay: that bishops were not excepted from their scope, and that "their commission takes in the whole compass of ecclesiastical jurisdiction" (vol. vi. p. 262). This is far too sweeping. There is no mention of excommunication, or of bishops: there were, one may say, at the moment no bishops to except. Burnet's remark is in better temper: that it seemed a great stretch of the Queen's supremacy to give the Visitors authority to proceed by ecclesiastical censures: but that "it was thought that the queen might do that as well as the lay chancellors did it in the ecclesiastical courts: so one abuse was the excuse for another."—Vol. ii. p. 634 (Pocock).

† Burnet published the Commission for the North, *Collect.* No. 7 (vol. v. p. 533). He and others after him have mistaken it for the first High Commission. "This was the first high Commission that was given out." These Ambulatory Commissioners were to appeal to the Commissioners in London. "Personas, offensiones, et querelas commissariis nostris Londini residentibus et ad ecclesiasticarum rerum reformationem delegatis præsentabunt."—*Burnet* as above. These Commissioners in London were the first High Commissioners, as we shall see. Dr. Gee has recently reprinted their Commission of July 19, *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 89.

Injunctions of Edward the Sixth,* reprinted with divers alterations and about twenty new items. The tract of time rendered some omissions necessary, but the great part of the numerous variations and substitutions were made, it is said by Cecil's hand, on the principle of avoiding offence toward the Romanensians.† In the Preface, in Edward we read of "the suppression of idolatry and superstition": in Elizabeth of "the suppression of superstition." In Edward's Injunction concerning the Supremacy, "the Bishop of Rome's pretended and usurped power and jurisdiction" is more than once declared to have been "of most just causes taken away and abolished," as "having no establishment nor ground by the laws of God": in the corresponding place in Elizabeth there is no mention made of Rome, but "all usurped or foreign power" is said to be "taken away and abolished" for the said causes: nor is there any allusion to Rome throughout her code. In Edward there are many severe reflections on the motives of the clergy, which are omitted or softened in Elizabeth. In the one they were forbidden to "extol images, relics or miracles for any superstition or lucre, or to allure the people by any enticements to the pilgrimage of any saint or image." In Edward, but not in Elizabeth, the clergy who had taught superstitions were required to recant, openly acknowledging that they had been "led and seduced by a common error and abuse crept into the Church through the sufferance and avarice of such as felt profit by the same."‡ Edward insulted, but Elizabeth

* For Edward's Injunctions, see Vol. II. p. 430 of this work. They, again, were a reproduction of the Injunctions of Crumwel and Henry; see Vols. I. p. 444, and II. p. 81, of this work.

† Archbishop Parker said in a letter to Cecil long after, in 1575, "Whatsoever the [queen's] ecclesiastical prerogative is, I fear it is not so great as your pen hath given it in the Injunctions."—Strype, *Ann.* i. 159.

‡ Edward's Injunctions, Items 1 and 11. The two sets have been

not, the old usages by several somewhat contemptuous expressions: Edward enumerated some customs or ceremonies which, having ceased, were not rehearsed by Elizabeth: while Elizabeth repeated Edward's rebukes of some which may, having ceased, have been restored by Mary.* It was no longer ordered to take down abused images: nor was it thought needful to quench again the two lights upon the high altar of every church, which had been at first enjoined and afterwards implicitly abrogated by Edward.† The numerous vacancies, that were or were about to be, would have rendered it not so convenient to repeat as it seemed to be to omit the requirements of Edward for curates constant in residence, persuasive in charging parents and children, exemplary in life, diligent in providing for the due and reverent ministration of the Sacraments.‡ The quarterly sermon which Edward exacted from incumbents was not only made monthly, but an additional quarterly sermon or homily was

compared by J. J. Blunt, in his *Sketch of the Reformation*: and by Gee, *Eliz. Clergy*, 46.

* "Images, relics, miracles," are enumerated both in Item 2 of Edward and in Item 2 of Elizabeth: but "pilgrimage of any saint or image" is left out in the latter. In Item 3 of Edward "works of faith, mercy and charity" are set against "wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers to relics or images, or kissing or licking of the same, praying upon beads, or such like superstition." In the corresponding Item 3 of Elizabeth, "works of Faith, as mercy and charity" are set against "wandering of pilgrimages, setting up of candles, praying upon beads, or such-like superstition."

† Item 4 of Edward, against abused images, and the candles set before them, but allowing two lights on the high altar (churches then had many altars), was entirely omitted by Elizabeth. On the two lights, see Vol. II. p. 432 of this work. They had been implicitly abrogated in the Articles of the Visitation of 1549, the first of which ordered the clergy, in the periodical reading of the Injunctions (of 1547), to omit "all such as made mention of the papal Mass, of chantries, of candles upon the altar, or any other such-like thing."

‡ Items 5 and 6 of Edward, which are entirely omitted.

imposed on them that were licensed, by Elizabeth. The Paternoster, Creed, and Ten Commandments to be repeated every holiday; the Bible of the largest volume and the Paraphrase of Erasmus to be had in churches, the Latin and English New Testament and the Latin Paraphrase to be procured by parsons, the synodal and visitatorial examination of the clergy in the Holy Scriptures by the bishops and ordinaries, the Homilies to be read every Sunday, were common to both. But there was nothing in Elizabeth as to the Paternoster and the rest to be repeated in confessions in Lent. The Queen's Visitors were added to the authorities that could give licenses to preachers;* and in the cognisance of hinderers of God's word and of maintainers of usurped and foreign power the ordinary was added to the Council or the nearest justice of the peace. Common to both was the register to be kept in every church, but now half of the forfeits of omitted entries was ordered to go to the repairing of the church, not the whole to the poor men's box:† the fortieth part of every benefice of twenty pounds or more to be devoted by every non-resident parson to the poor of the parish "that was so fruitful and profitable to him" was common to both: still were all parsons to bestow the fifth of their benefice in repairing their chancels: the education of assistant clergy, "partners of their patron's cure," was still laid on incumbents who had above a hundred a year; they

* The licenses granted by Visitors were disliked by the bishops, and soon afterwards revoked.—Cardwell, i. 204.

† Item 10 Elizabeth. This alteration has been thought to argue the increasing decay of churches. There is something to the like in Item 23, where after repeating Edward's destructive mandate for taking away shrines, coverings of shrines, painted glass, &c. (Item 28 Edw.), Elizabeth adds, "preserving nevertheless or repairing both the walls and glass windows."

were again commanded, for every hundred that they had, to give exhibition at the University to one young man, and thus they would become patrons, and raise up "partners of their patron's cure," each his own: or the young men might "otherwise profit the commonweal with counsel and wisdom." The honest pulpit, the chest of the poor, the distribution of alms, tithes to be paid faithfully, simony avoided, processions to be ceased, and other regulations, were common to both: but in several places alterations might be remarked that were significant. Especially the substitution of "the Common Prayer" or of "the Communion" for "High Mass" indicated the triumph of the English Book or Use.*

Of the new items in these Injunctions the most remarkable were on the marriage of ministers, the use of singing, the position of the Communion Table, and the fashion of the Sacramental bread; for the discouragement of marriage in the clergy, since some

* "Immediately before High Mass": Item 24 Edw. "Immediately before the time of Communion of the Sacrament": Item 18 Eliz. "In the time of the Litany, of the High Mass, of the Sermon": Item 24 Edw. "In the time of the Litany, of the Common Prayer, of the Sermon": Item 18 Eliz. Observe also the avoidance, in Elizabeth, of the word altar, or high altar, which never occurs. "Which chest you shall set and fasten near unto the high altar": Item 30 Edw. "Which chest you shall set and fasten in a most convenient place": Item 25 Eliz. On the other hand, perhaps, the restoring spirit of Mary may be traced in the addition of "obits and dirges" to "torches, lights, tapers, and lamps," the maintenance of which was to be turned to the maintenance of the poor: Item 25 Eliz.; 30 Edw. Remark also a bit of ignorant revision in the same item. The words oblation and devotion, coupled with alms, in Edward, are altered into oblations and devotions in Elizabeth, evidently because the word alms, which is of course the French *almsesse*, was thought plural. "Their oblations and alms," "their devotions and alms." Perhaps it was from this source that the plural form, unfortunately it may be thought, got into the Prayer for the Church Militant in the last revision of the Prayer Book in 1661: "our alms and oblations." It may be added that the word *oblatio* is never plural in the Latin Missal.

slander and offence had arisen from the choice of wives or indiscreet behaviour in the allowed state of matrimony, it was ordered that no priest or deacon should marry "any manner of woman" without the allowance of the bishop and the two nearest justices and the good will of her parents and friends or of her master and mistress: no bishop without the approbation of the metropolitan and of some royal commissioners; and no dean or head of college without the consent of the visitors of the house. This regulation fell dead from the first, and was only meant by way of caution.* Of singing and music it was ordered that the assignments or stipends for maintaining men and children to sing, which there were in collegiate and in some parish churches, should remain unaltered; that "a modest and distinct song," as plain to be understood as reading, should be used in all parts of the Common Prayer: and that, "for comforting that delight in

* So Heylin says. Some of the remarks of Sanders (or Rishton) on the subject may be looked at. "Ab initio in uxoribus eligendis ita vel negligentes vel infelices vel nimis præproperi fuerant, ut feminas non adeo honestæ famæ omnes acceperint, magnumque ex ea re infirmioribus sectæ suæ scandalum, Catholicis etiam risum moverint: præceptum est illis Reginæ autoritate ut nullam deinceps feminam in conjugium presbyteri, nec episcopi quidem admitterent, nisi prius certorum hominum iudiciis de honestate approbatam. . . . Qui autem istis darent filias suas, ne Protestantes quidem fere inveniebantur, nedum Catholici: primum, quia existimant id esse per se infame, ut sint vel dicantur uxores presbyterorum," &c. He goes on that the children of such marriages were illegitimate by the laws of England. As to that, these Injunctions say that priests' marriages were made lawful by Act of Parliament under Edward VI., thus founding themselves upon what was done in his reign. There were two Acts of Edward on the subject: 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 21 and 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 129, which last expressly included legitimisation of children. Both these Acts were repealed *nominatim* by 1 Mary, Session 2, c. 2. That statute of Mary was not repealed by 1 Eliz. c. 1: nor was either of the two Acts of Edward revived *nominatim* in 1 Eliz. c. 1. It therefore follows that the whole subject of priests' marriages was passed over by Elizabeth's first Parliament: and yet her Injunctions founded themselves upon the Acts of Edward, which Mary had repealed.

music," a hymn or song of praise, in the best melody and music that could be devised, might be permitted at the beginning or end of the Common Prayer, "having respect that the sentence of the hymn might be understood and perceived."* So that plain song was retained in parish churches: in cathedral and collegiate churches more artful music was unforbidden. As to the position of the holy table, the order was that it should be set where the altar had been, and so stand save when "the Communion of the Sacrament" (a phrase that is used more than once in this code) was administered, at which times it was to be placed in the chancel so as the ministers might more conveniently be heard and the communicants more conveniently and in more number communicate: and after the Communion done, it was to be replaced where it stood before.† In memory of the woeful waste that had been witnessed in the demolition of altars in the reign of Edward it was furthermore ordered that no altar yet left should be taken down without the oversight of the curate and the churchwardens. Concerning the Sacramental bread, the direction of the Prayer Book,

* "No mention here," remarks Heylin, "of singing David's Psalms in metre, though afterwards they first thrust out the hymns which herein are mentioned, and by degrees did they the *Te Deum*, the *Magnificat*, and the *Nunc Dimittis*." Hence we may understand the meaning of calling the Puritans Psalm-singers.

† The meaning is, that for Communion the table was to be taken from its station, where the altar used to be, and brought down into the chancel, but not into the body of the church, and set longitudinally, the short ends westward and eastward: the communicants either (I think) drew round it to receive, or had the elements carried round to them in their places by the minister. This was a modification of the rubric of the Prayer Book, that the table should always "stand in the body of the Church, or in the chancel." Long afterwards, about 1636, by order of the bishops, the table remained always as now against the east wall, placed altarwise, and it was railed in, the communicants kneeling at the rails to receive.—Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* ii. 174, 185, 201; also Hole's *Manual of Prayer Book*, 153.

which these Injunctions enforced, that it should be "such as is usual to be eaten at table with other meats, but the best and purest wheat bread," was set aside by an order of these Injunctions themselves, that it should be the same as the bread and wafer that served for the private Mass; but somewhat bigger and thicker.* These two last orders, about the table and the bread, were the most remarkable of all Elizabeth's Injunctions in that they traversed the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer, and were acknowledged examples of the "further order" which she was empowered by the Act for Uniformity to take in the rites and ceremonies of the Church, with the advice of the commissioners or the metropolitan, and perhaps the only examples.† Several of these new concluding

* "Item. Where also it was in the time of King Edward the Sixth used to have the Sacramental bread of common fine bread; it is ordered for the more reverence to be given to these holy mysteries, being the sacraments of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that the same Sacramental bread be made and formed plain, without any figure thereupon, of the same fineness and fashion round, though somewhat bigger in compass and thickness, as the usual bread and wafer, heretofore named singing cakes, which served for the use of the private mass." It was these orders about the table and the bread which drew from Jewel's adversary, Dorman, in 1564, the well-known scoff: "This day your Table is placed in the midst of the Quire, the next day removed into the Body of the Church: at the third time placed in the chancel again after the manner of an Altar (that is upon the coming forth of this before mentioned Order), but yet removable as there is a Communion to be had. Then your Minister's face to be one while turned toward the south, and another while toward the north; that the weathercock in the steeple was noted not to have turned so often in a quarter of a year as your Minister in the church in less than one month. And at your Communion, one while decreeing that it be ministered in common and leavened Bread; by and bye revoking that, and bringing it to unleavened."—*Dorman's Proof*, quoted by Strype, *Ann.* i. 163.

† There was no reference to the Act for Uniformity in these two Injunctions themselves, but they were early understood to be "further order" founded on it. Thus Withers the Puritan wrote in 1567 to the Elector Palatine, "Power was given to the Queen and the Archbishop to introduce whatever additional ceremonies they might think proper:

items had titles or headings of their own ; among them " The form of bidding the prayers to be used generally after this uniform sort " differed widely from Edward's Injunctions, particularly in turning prayer for the dead into an act of praise.* Another, " An admonition to simple men deceived by malicious," explained the Oath of Supremacy to challenge no authority of ministering divine offices, nor any other authority than that used lately by Henry and Edward and due anciently to the imperial crown of the realm, promising to acquit of penalty any who had scrupled before but would now accept the Oath on this interpretation. This last item had an important history.†

and they immediately afterwards discontinued the ordinary bread hitherto used in the administration of the Lord's Supper, and for the sake of a newer reformation adopted the round wafer, after the pattern of that used by the papists."—*Zurich Letters*, ii. 161. We have the testimony of the Queen herself, and of Archbishop Parker, upon this point. Parker, in 1571, related to Cecil that the Queen had talked to him once or twice about it, and signified that there was a provision in the Act for Uniformity, " that by law is granted unto her that if there be any contempt or irreverence used in the ceremonies or rites of the Church by misusing of the orders appointed in the Book, she may, by the advice of her commissioners or metropolitan, ordain and publish such further ceremonies or rites " as should be meet : and that she would not have agreed to some orders in the Book but for that. He proceeds, " By virtue of which law she published further order in her Injunctions both for the Communion Bread and for the placing of the Tables within the choir. They that like not the Injunctions force much the statute in the Book. I tell them that they do evil to make odious comparisons betwixt statute and Injunction : and yet I say and hold that the Injunction hath authority by proviso of the statute."—Parker's *Correspondence*, 375.

* See Cardwell's notes, *Doc. Ann.* i. pp. 21 and 202.

† Hallam has a note on this Injunction, which he styles " of the nature of a contemporaneous exposition of the law."—*Const. History*, i. 112. This " Admonition " was reprinted in the *Somers Tracts*, vol. i. Bishop Stubbs has also reprinted it in *Eccles. Commission Report*, p. 73. I anticipate in adding that this explanation was invested with legal authority by Elizabeth's next Parliament, 5 Eliz. c. 1, § 14 ; see below. It is known as " Elizabeth's Admonition."—Butler's *Hist. Memoirs*, i. 284. The promise of immunity, which this Admonition (or Injunction) contains, is founded on a generous provision of 1 Eliz. c. 1, the Act prescribing the Oath, that

The Articles to be Enquired in this Visitation departed more boldly from the corresponding enquiries that accompanied the Injunctions of Edward: and yet one or two of them left Edward's Articles only to fly to his Injunctions, and thence repeat one or two of the somewhat contemptuous expressions toward the old usages which in the Injunctions of this Visitation Elizabeth had avoided.* But not only was the usurping Bishop of Rome without mention in them: no foreign power had mention instead of him: all the questions were domestic, and refer to the state of the Church and the country. It may be gathered that some monuments of the former worship were still left in churches; that many images, tables, pictures, which had been in churches, were kept undefaced in houses, and adored there: that it was not certain that all the moveable goods or stocks of churches, as cattle, or all the money that used to find torches and lamps, now found their way into the poor men's box. It appears that there were who talked and jangled in church during the English Service, and others departed without just cause in time of the Litany or "any other Common Prayer," or when the priest read the

if any temporal man should "obstinately and peremptorily refuse to take the Oath, and after at any time during his life should willingly require to take it," he should be relieved from any penalty incurred (§ 26). This seems to be extended by this Admonition (or Injunction) to ecclesiastics also. I recur to this point further on. In proof of the importance of the Admonition I may mention that a separate manuscript copy of it exists, apart from the rest of the Injunctions, made for some particular purpose: and probably other such copies were made.—*Dom. Pap. of Eliz.* vol. xv. No. 27 (*Cal.* p. 167). The whole Injunctions of Elizabeth may be seen in Gee, *Eliz. Clergy*, 46, in Wilkins, iv., or in Cardwell's *Doc. Ann.* i. 178.

* The eleventh Item of Edward's Injunctions, about extolling pilgrimages, relics, and images, and kissing, kneeling, decking of the same, was omitted in Elizabeth's Injunctions, but appears in her Articles to be Enquired.

Scriptures to the parishioners: * and on the other hand that there were priests who moved or counselled their parishioners rather to pray in an unknown tongue than in English, and to tell their beads. There were secret Masses said and heard "in unlawful conventicles." There were "minstrels" who sang "vile and unclean ditties, especially in derision of any godly order now set forth and established." Diligence was to be applied to get a true understanding of the late persecution under Queen Mary: and here the investigation was grave and mournful. "How many persons," it was to be asked in every diocese, "have for religion died by fire, famine, or otherwise, or have been imprisoned for the same?" "What books of Holy Scripture have you delivered to be burned, or otherwise destroyed, and to whom delivered you them?" The ordinaries were required to exhibit to the Visitors their books "containing the causes why any person was imprisoned, famished, or put to death for religion." † To make what restitution could be made it was enquired, "What goods moveable, lands, fees, offices, or promotions were wrongfully taken away in the time of Queen Mary's reign from any person which favoured the religion now set forth?" But above all there was a very curious interrogation, unnoticed by writers,

* "Any other Common Prayer" means any that was ordered to be in English up to that time; as the Epistle and Gospel and the Commandments were by the Queen's Proclamation. "And when the Priest readeth the Scriptures to the Parishioners": I venture to think that this was not meant of the reading of the Lessons in the Order of Prayers, but of some times when the priest, or minister, had the people together in church to read the Scriptures to them, and probably with some brief exposition: a usage long ceased. From this, it seems to me, the question, still retained, arose in the Ordinal for Deacons: "Will you diligently read the same (i.e. the Scriptures) unto the people assembled in the church where you shall be appointed to serve?"

† This was in the Injunctions, not in these Articles to be Enquired.

which appears to cast light on the remarkable impunity enjoyed by high or rich suspected laymen in the Persecution under Mary, an impunity which has been imputed to the baseness of bishops by the ignorance of the general historians. "What bribes the accusers, promoters, persecutors, Ecclesiastical Judges, and other the Commissioners appointed within the several dioceses of this realm have received by themselves or other, of those persons which were in trouble, apprehended, or imprisoned for religion?" This question asked solves one of the problems of history.*

The Visitation, thus furnished, was forthwith set on foot. Of the large Northern perambulation one of the Commissioners, Doctor Sandys, recounted to a friend the labours and success: "I was sent with the Queen's commission, as inspector and visitor, for removing the abuses of the Church and restoring the rites of true religion and piety: in those regions I discharged the office entrusted to me with exhausting efforts of mind and body to the beginning of November: then I returned to London, to find myself called to a greater weight of care and toil, the bishopric of Worcester."† In this way a future Primate of England gained a knowledge of his Province. With him laboured

* It casts a dreadful light on the persecution that it should have been so notorious that those troubled for religion who could bribe the accusers, judges, and commissioners could purchase safety, that this should have been made an Article to be Enquired. Those persecutors were nearly all laymen, as I have shown in place. It should be observed that bishops or ordinaries are not here enumerated among those who might have taken bribes. If it had been possible to have involved any of the Marian bishops in such a charge, it would have been done here. The poor and humble condition of the great part of the lay folk, who were burned or otherwise troubled for religion in that terrible time, has been often remarked: and by Mr. Froude, and other popular writers, "the bishops" have been accused of prudently choosing their prey from the defenceless poor.

† *Zurich Letters*, i. 72.

Doctor Harvey, of the civil law, and Sir Henry Gates; and these were the chief commissioners; but for several places they appointed plenary deputies, of whom the most notable were Scambler and the venerable Bernard Gilpin. Before these persons, with a few others in various instances, was transacted the bulk of the inquisitions, presentments, and matters done.* The course followed was the same everywhere. The Visitors sat in a church, cathedral or parochial: prayers were read, and they opened their commission. A sermon was preached, or, as they often put it, "the word of God was plainly and sincerely expounded" by Sandys or another. The assembled clergy of the cathedral or collegiate church, and of the adjacent rural deaneries, were required to exhibit their statutes, letters of orders, and other muniments: those who appeared not were pronounced contumacious. The churchwardens and other laymen of every parish had been summoned, and were required to answer to the Articles to be Enquired: and from their answers presentments were made. To all alike the Oath and Declaration were tendered for subscription. In many places the complaints of former incumbents who had been expelled for marriage were heard: who were generally restored, and their intruded successors expelled. Vacant livings were filled, or else sequestrated. The detections or "comperta" that were made at the

* The proceedings of this Visitation of the Province of York are contained in a large manuscript volume of about 300 pages; *State Pap. Eliz. Domest.* vol. x. No writer seems to have seen this original except Strype, and perhaps Burnet, who have not used it much.—*Annals*, ch. xii. It is a nobly written manuscript, probably from the hand of Thomas Percy, public notary, who attended the Visitors. [Since the above was written Dr. Gee's extremely valuable volume has been published, *The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion*, in which this and all other originals of the Visitation have been carefully and skilfully examined.]

point of the Articles are not without interest : that the church was in decay, that the vicar or rector was non-resident, that there had been no service for a year or more, that there was no register kept ; in several parishes that the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, the Communion Book, the Paraphrases, or one or other of them, had been delivered to be burned in the late reign. Everywhere lamentable presentments were made of fornicators, adulterers, men who had left their wives for other women, and bastard children.

It was begun with the diocese of York in the parish Church of St. Mary, Nottingham, on August 22 :*

* The proceedings here may be given as an example. "In Eccles. parochiali B. Marie ville de Nottingham Ebor. diocesi die Martis, viz. 22 die mens. Aug. anno Dom. 1559, regno illustr. Dne Eliz. Dei grat. Anglie, Francie et Hibernie Regine, Fidei Defens. primo. Quibus die et loco, finitis precibus, expositoque ad populum sacro Dei verbo p. eximium virum Mag. Edw. Sandys, S.T.D., prefatus Edwinus una cum Th. Gargrave, Hen. Gates, militib. et Hen. Harvey, L.D. cancellum ejusd. eccles. ad loc. decenter ornatum simul adivere : eisdemque ibidem sedentib. literas commissionales prelibate Illustriss. Dne nost. Regine sigillo magno communitas, omni cum humilitate, reverentia pariter et obedientia condignis receperunt. Ac easdem p. Thom. Percy notarium publicum scribam et registrarium antedictum publice legi fecerunt. Et incontinenti onus executionis earundem ob reverentiam et honorem tante principis committend. assumpserunt. Et secundum vim formam et effectum earund. ad omnem juris effectum procedendum fore, proque eorum jurisdictione judicialiter decreverunt. Deinde personaliter constitutus quidam Mag. Rob. Cressye Officialis Archm. Nottingham introduxit mandatum citatorium sibi alias ex parte pefat. Dne Regine pro clero et populo Decanatum de Nottingham movend. atque citand. visitationem Regiam adtunc subitur., una cum certificatorio de executione etc. Et nominibus et cognitionibus omnium et singulorum in ea parte monitor. ac desuper facta fide, de jure requisitionis omnes citatos et monitos nominatim publice preconizari fecerunt commissarii antedicti. Omnes etiam monitos preconizatos et non comparentes pronunciaverunt contumaces, etc. Subinde intimata habitaque ad populum docta quadam exhortatione p. percelebratum Mag. Edw. Sandys, omnes laicos, viz. parochianos et iconimos cujuslibet parochie, tactis prius sacrosanctis Dei Evangeliiis, monuerunt ut hora sexta a prandio detectiones et responsiones suas super Articulis inquisitionis eis una cum Injunctionibus regiis adtunc lectis et datis in scriptis exhibeant, etc. Prefati quoque D. Commissarii rectores,

where, after a sermon from the eminent Doctor Sandys, they proceeded within the chancel, and sat judicially. Here they pronounced contumacious fifteen clergy for absence; instituted five, and restored one, who had been deprived for marriage, with the consent and good will of his successor. Next day at Southwell out of sixteen prebendaries eleven were absent, four of them without proxies; two vicars were instituted, and one married restored to his living against the will of his successor. At Blythe, whither next they went, three were instituted, two restored.* At Pontefract

vicarios, capellanos, curatos et non curatos presentes omnes et singulos firmiter injungend. monuerunt quod ipsi hora et loco predicto personaliter compareant, literas ordinum, dispensationes et cetera instrumenta sua, prout singula singulos concernantia realiter exhibituri ulteriusque facturi quod justitia et equitatis ratio suadebunt, etc. Hora adveniente iconimi et parochiani predicti billas detectionum una cum inventoriis bonorum ecclesiarum suarum exhibuerunt, etc. Deinde de clericorum et ecclesiasticarum personarum statu doctrina et conversatione diligentem fecerunt examinationem unumquemque per se examinandum literis ordinum et ceteris munimentis p. illos exhibitis etc.”—*MS. in State Pap. Eliz. Dom. x. p. 7.* The word iconimi, i. e. œconomi, for churchwardens, seems a curious reminiscence of the former pronunciation of the Greek vowel sounds.

* The arrangement of the book is recursive. After the accounts of the Visitation, beginning at Nottingham, throughout the four Northern dioceses, there follow (p. 121) the “Acta et Processus habiti et facti coram Commissariis,” &c., which begin at Nottingham: then follow “Nomina eorum qui admissi et instituti fuerunt,” beginning with Nottingham: then the “Detectiones et Comperta,” p. 219, in the same manner. Then “Nomina omnium absentium.” Then lastly come, “Recognisances taken to the Q. Maj. use before the Visitors of the Province of York.” In another volume of the Domestic series, vol. vii. No. 24, is given the “Ordo Visitationis Regiæ Majest. infra Prov. Ebor,” with the dates. It nearly corresponds with vol. x. I have put the differences in brackets.

Ebor. Dio.

Nottingham	22 Aug.	Ebor.	6 Sept.
Southwell	24 „	Hull.....	11 „
Batley (Blythe)	26 „	Beverley	12 „
Pontefract	29 „	Malton	13 „
Halifax	31 „	Northallerton.....	16 „
Otley	4 Sept.	(Richmond.....	21 „)

four churches were found vacant; a married vicar and a married rector were restored, and they were both the same man. At Halifax, August 31, the preacher was Pilkington; the congregation listened with joy: the living of Huddersfield was found to be vacant. At Otley several parish priests were deprived and put under recognisances, and committed to custody for obstinately refusing to subscribe to the altered religion and utterly denying the royal supremacy.*

Dunelm. Dio.

Auckland	21 Sept.
Dunelm.	22 (23) „
Newcastle	27 „
Alnwick	30 „

Carloli. Dio.

Carlisle	3 Oct.
Penrith	6 „

Cistrens. Dio.

Richmond	8 Oct.
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Kendal 9 Oct.

Lancaster 13 (12) „

Wigan 14 (16) „

Manchester..... 17 (18) „

(Northwich..... 20 „)

Milton 20 „

(not in vol. x.)

(Tarvin 24 Oct.)

Eccles, Chest.... 23 (26) „

Chester St. Oswald's 28 „

(not in vol. x.)

* At Nottingham, Hy. Nicolson was instituted to Twiswell, Alex. Fossett to Leeds, Edw. Stubbs to Keyworth, Jn. Drury to Lowdham. In this last-named parish the churchwardens presented that in the late reign they had “delivered to Mr. Cressye a Paraphrase and two Communion Books to be burned.” In Stapleford “their books were burned in Q. Mary’s time.” Oliver Columben, deprived for marriage, was restored to Stainford rectory, with the hearty consent of his successor Umfrey. At Southwell, Thos. Marsee was instituted to East Markham, Wm. Abbot to Burythorpe. In Scarrington parish there had been no curate for two years, and their books had been burned “by the official.” In Corlenton parish “their Bible, the Communion Book and the Paraphrase had been delivered to the official, to be burned, as he said”: no curate for twelve months. Christ. Sugden, deprived for marriage, was restored to Newark; his successor Jn. Taverham, opposing, had articles ministered to him to answer. Pursglove, Suffragan of Hull, appeared by proxy. At Blythe, Jacob Rusworth was instituted to Croxishill, Robt. Rothwood to Grove, Wm. Walton to Wheatley. The former rector of Claworth, Geo. Monsun, and the actual possessor, Roger Dallison, contended, and the case was adjourned. At Pontefract, Ant. Bläke, former vicar of Doncaster, laid claim against John Hudson, vicar “pretensed,” and had articles ministered to him. “Ad primum art. fatetur. Ad secundum respondet et dicit: That he doth believe that he was deprived for that he was married”: and to the next, “viz. that he

At York Sandys preached to a vast concourse with great effect: the dean and prebendaries exhibited articles of submission signed by themselves: but ten of their body were absent without proctors; four of them on three successive days refused to subscribe to their articles, and were deprived, Pursglove, Bishop Suffragan of Hull, among them: two consented to the supremacy, but asked for time to consider the rest. Four married parochs were restored: and six vacant livings were filled. The state of the minster and of the houses of the prebendaries was found to be very bad. Many cases of incontinency from all parts were tried in consistory. The clergy of two of the city churches absented themselves, and were pronounced contumacious.* At Hull, whither thence they went,

should be unjustly deprived, he doth reserve himself unto the law." To another article he said, "that he kept his wife by all the time deduced, but he doth deny any such statute to be made." To another, "that he was called before the judges for his marriage, and that he did always dissent from them." To another, "that he did dissent from his judges, and as soon as there was time and place he sought his remedy as the law would permit." The same Blake laid claim to the rectory of Whiston against John Atkinson, alleging that he had been deprived, "as he believed, for that he was married": and that he was married "not unjustly, neither against the laws and statutes of this realm, as he believeth." Hamlet Taylor was admitted to Churchsandall, Jn. Dodworth to Armethorpe, Ric. Bird to Wathe, Wm. Oglethorpe to Kellington. At Otley, Robt. Wood, vicar of Otley, Wm. Boyes, rector of Gresley, Christ. Mygley, vicar of Kildwick, Alex. Jennings, vicar of Bingley, peremptorily and obstinately refused "*susceptæ religioni subscribere, et præterea suprematatem illustriss. D. Regine denegaverunt.*" One of them was forthwith deprived, the others committed to be taken to York. Miles Walker, rector of Lachley, was restored against Thos. Helme, "the pretended rector." Ant. Holgate, rector of Burnsall, was restored against Ric. Summerschal. Jas. Best was admitted to Romalldkirk.

* At York, Sandys preached "*ad consolamen et gaudium Christianam doctrinam vere complectentium.*" The Articles of submission are given, p. 30. Geoffrey Downes, D.D., Bishop Pursglove of Hull, Geo. Palmes, L.D., and Rog. Marshall, all prebendaries, repeatedly and on several days refused to subscribe, and were deprived. Rob. Bapthorpe, prebendary, voluntarily, "*ut apparuit,*" consented to the Supremacy, but asked time to

Sandys preached again: two or three livings were filled: two women were presented as scolds. At Beverley Scambler preached: a living was found destitute. At Malton several vicarages that were vacant were sequestrated: a vicar who refused to subscribe to the Articles was deprived. At Northallerton the preacher was Scambler: three vacant livings were filled, one of them by a deacon.*

In the diocese of Durham, in Auckland, in the parish

consider the rest. So Geo. Williamson, prebendary. A day was appointed, and then they willingly subscribed. From the churches of All Saints and St. Michael no one appeared. Wm. Denman was restored to Ordsall, Wm. Yokesall to South Kirley, from which Robt. Blunston and Jn. Marshall were cast out. Robt. Bent was admitted to Dalby, Thos. Britton to Thorney, Robt. Morres to Bishophill, Wm. Davison to Patrington, Nic. Pettinger to Westredford, Robt. Morres to Brignall. From Fyslake it was presented that "one troubleth the curate in time of common prayer"; that three men "did despise the common prayer"; and that "the parson did not keep a convenient time for the common prayer." As to York Minster itself "it is detected that their altars stand still, all saving the high altar": that "the gospel and epistle is so read that no man can well understand, and likewise the homilies": that "there is no chest for the poor": that "they have no sermons preached, nor lectures of divinity read": that "the church is much defiled with pigeons": that "the prebendaries' house of Rycall is in much ruin and decay": also the house of Fridaythorpe called Tonge Hall. Wotton the dean "is not resident, neither feedeth the poor, as he is bound by the statutes of the said church." There were "but three or four prebendaries abiding in York."

* At Hull, Rob. Robinson was admitted to Halsham: Oswald Emerson to Kirkbyunderdale: the parish of Drypole was found destitute. At Beverley, Keyingham was found vacant. At Malton, Rog. Thompson, vicar of Appleford, repeatedly refused to subscribe, and was deprived. Folkton and Lythe vicarages, and Ellerkar chapel, were found destitute and were sequestrated. At Northallerton, Christ. Morland was admitted to Bossall, Thos. Taylor, diaconus, to Langton, Jn. Pearson to Osmotherly. In some of the parishes in these regions there were interesting detections. In Bridlington "the images be secretly kept," and some persons had some of the church goods in their hands. There were seven scolds in Bridlington. In Edlington the parson had not resided for twenty years, and no curate for twelve months, and no register was kept. In Beynton "the image of our Lady hath been used for pilgrimage." In Arkesey two men "do wilfully absent themselves from the church and from the divine service to the evil example of all the parish."

church, the Commissioners opened on September 21 : found the place inconvenient ; and Scambler prorogued it to the great chapel of the palace in the town. There Sewell was the preacher ; Sandys, Gates, and Harvey sat judicially, and cited the clergy and people of the archdeaconry of Durham. Three vicars refused to subscribe, and were deprived in one way or another : a married rector was restored : a vicarage was sequestrated.* In the cathedral church of Durham, September 23, Lord Evers, Sir Henry Percy, Sandys, Gates, and Harvey sat : Sandys preached. Here the dean, eight prebendaries, eight canons, of whom three were not clerics, and the schoolmaster, refused to subscribe : one prebendary subscribed.† Then the

* At Auckland, Thos. Sedgwick, S.T.P., refused to subscribe : “*ut articulis susceptæ religionis ex animo subscribat, obstinate recusavit.*” He was ordered to appear before them again in Durham ; appeared there, was obstinate, bound in recognisances, deprived. Robt. Dalton, S.T.B., vicar of Billingham, refused : “*et requisitus iterum ut articulis subscribat peremptorie recusavit, allegans, quoad primam partem articulorum, That he that sitteth in the seat of Rome hath and ought to have the jurisdiction ecclesiastical over all Christian realms.*” He was deprived. Wm. Bennet, D.D., vicar of Aycliffe, refused : and again as prebendary of Durham refused in the chapter house there : and was deprived. Wm. Whitehead, vicar of Highington, was sequestrated (p. 61). The first appearance of *ex animo* might be noted by the reader.

† At Durham cathedral church, Thos. Robertson, dean, refused to subscribe, saying “that the Bishop of Rome ought to have the jurisdiction ecclesiastical of this realm” ; and was bound over to appear before the Commissioners sitting in London (p. 64). Roger Watson, prebendary, subscribed. Jn. Crawford, prebendary, at first refused, then asked for time, which was granted : then “*primo recognovit suprematam D. Regine, et deinde religioni subscribere recusavit.*” He was bound in £200 to appear in London, and his fruits were sequestrated. The same course was taken with Steph. Marley and Jn. Tuttyn, prebendaries. Nicolas Marley, prebendary, said “that he would not answer directly to the point of Supremacy, but that the Bishop of Rome had some jurisdiction in the realm.” The like befel him. Geo. Bullock, prebendary, D.D., said “that the Bishop of Rome hath and ought to have the jurisdiction ecclesiastical in this realm of England, and by plain and flat words he affirmed that the see of that Bishop was the See Apostolic.” Ant. Salwyn, prebendary, D.D., said “that the Bishop of Rome hath jurisdiction

muniments were examined: Sandys gave an exhortation of religion and loyalty: four parochs were restored. Here it was, it may be noted, that the Commissioners formally appointed Roger Watson, the one compliant prebendary, the celebrated Bernard Gilpin of Apostolic character, and Edmund Scambler, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, to be deputy commissioners, or surrogates to themselves; in which capacity they will be found hereafter.* In the parish

within this realm (rather) than otherwise": and refused to subscribe. Geo. Cliffe, prebendary, B.D., said "that he believed that the Pope hath and ought to have the jurisdiction ecclesiastical, and not the Queen": and refused. They were all treated like the rest; to appear in London, sequestrated. Thos. Spark was sick. Wm. Todd, prebendary, S.T.P., appeared not, and all the prebendaries asserted that he had a broken leg. As he lay within the precincts, the Commissioners substituted for themselves Bernard Gilpin and Edm. Scambler to go to him, along with their notary Percy. They went, and he peremptorily refused to subscribe. He was deprived of the fruits of his prebend, and his vicarage of Northallerton was sequestrated. Wm. Smith, Jn. Brown, Jn. Bindley, Thos. Pentland, Robt. Blenkinsop, Jn. Pearson, Wm. Smith, Wm. Ball, canonici minores, and all clerici but Smith, Brown, and Hall, refused, were fined, and were ordered to appear in London whenever called. In the chapter house, Geo. Cliffe was cast out of the rectory of Elwicke in York diocese, and Thos. Atkinson restored. Jn. Rudd took the prebend of Geo. Bullock and was also restored to Norton vicarage, Robt. Dalton being cast out. Wm. Latimer claimed Kirkby rectory against Wm. Bury, but the case was deferred (p. 144). Wm. Bennet, D.D., who as vicar of Aycliffe had refused at Auckland, refused again as prebendary of Durham. Some of these Durham prebendaries, Marley, Tutty, Dalton, and Salwyn, are mentioned in a letter of Horne's in the following February, as still remaining, and still refusing the Oath. "Three prebendaries of the Cathedral Church of Durham, Marley, Tutty, and Dalton, do refuse the Oath: and I think Ant. Salwyn will do the same: in whose room if there may be placed through your good means men learned and well affected, the cathedral church shall have no loss, and the country receive great gain." Horne to Cecil.—*State Pap. Eliz. Dom.* xi. 16 (*Cal.* 149).

* They first appointed Gilpin and Scambler to go to the house of the broken-legged prebendary Todd: "committentes eis vices eorum ad examinand. dict. Wm. Todd super articulis susceptæ religionis." The "predicti substituti" examined Todd "in proprio hospitio" (p. 70). Afterwards, on Oct. 8, they associated Watson and Gilpin in a formal commission, which remains in the episcopal Register at Durham. I owe

church of St. Nicholas, in the city of Durham, the Visitation proceeded next with the usual order, when William Carter, the Archdeacon of Northumberland, refused and was deprived, though not finally. In St. Nicholas, the parish church of Newcastle-on-Tyne, Evers, Percy, Gates, Sandys, Harvey sat, September 27: Sandys preached with vigour: a vicarage was sequestered for vacancy: many cases of incontinency were tried. At Alnwick, three days later, a deputy com-

the information of this to the Rev. W. H. Frere, who has kindly copied it for me. It is as follows: "Edwinus Sandis, S.T.P., Henry Harveye, LL.D., et Geor. Browne arm. Illustris. in Christo principis et Dne nost. Dne Elizabeth, D.G. &c., Commissarii inter alios generalis (*sic*) ad visitand. tam in capite quam in membris ecclesias Cathedr. civitates, et dioces. Eborac. Dunelm. Carlisl. et Cestren. clerumque et populum in eisd. degent. sive resident. legitime delegati etc. suprema auctoritate regia sufficienter fulciti: Dilectis nobis in Christo Rogero Watson, Barnardo Gilpin, S.T.P., Salutem. Quascunque personas infra civitatem dioces. Dunelm. ubilibet constitut. etiam in locis exemptis quam non exemptis in . . . visitatione regia detect. vel quovismodo eidem Visitationi subject. aut subjiend. conveniend. citand. et evocand. deque vitæ moribus et conversatione ac qualitatibus personas inquirend. et investigand. Criminosos quoq. et delinquentes in ea parte quoscunque canonice corrigend. et puniend. Causasque judiciales quascunque in et per civitatem et dioc. predict etiam illas coram nobis inceptas et incipiend. audiend. finiend. et terminand. Penitentias insuper canonicas aliasq. pœnas convenientes ac de jure pro factorum qualitatib. requisit. juxta . . . exigentiam limitand. imponend. et infligend. Necnon testamenta quorumcunq. defunctor. infra civitat. et dioc. prædict. administrationesque eorum abintestato decedent. permittend. proband. approband. et informand. Vobis . . . de quorum doctrina et circumspeditionis industria fiduciam habentes vices nostras committimus plenamque in Domino hanc presentium concedimus potestatem. . . . Vosque ut presertim auctoritate qua fungimur in hac potestate surrogatos et deputatos nostros preficimus, deputamus et surrogamus per partes quousque duxerimus revocandum, desumpto vobis Christ. Clayton notario publ. in actorum scribam et registrarium deputatum Thomæ Percy visitationis regie registrarium principalis specialiter. . . . Mandamusque de omnib. et singulis per vos gestis et gerendis certiores nos reddatis cum ad hoc congrue fuerit requisit. una cum feod. . . . In cujus rei test. sig. regie majest. ad causas eccles. presentibus apponi fecimus. Dat. 8 die mens. Oct. anno pred. Dne Reg. primo," fol. 53; at end of Tunstall's *Regist.* Dr. Gee has given a reference to this commission, *Eliz. Clergy*, 81.

mission sat; Sir John Forster, Harrison a cleric, and Bernard Gilpin, who preached the sermon, examined the clergy, and took their subscriptions to the Articles.*

In the diocese of Carlisle, in the chapter house or fraternity there, Sir George Browne, Sandys, and Harvey opened their commission, October 3. The dean, Lancelot Salkeld, formerly prior of the Austin house, a man defamed in the Comperta of Henry the Eighth, appeared personally, and signed the Articles with great alacrity. The four prebendaries and seven minor canons all followed: the statutes were exhibited. On the next day in the cathedral church Sandys preached; the commissioners sat judicially in the choir, and visited the clergy and people of the deaneries of Carlisle and Allerdale, pronouncing the absent contumacious.† Three rectors or vicars were restored and their successors cast out. It was

* As to Dr. Carter, Archdeacon of Northumberland, there is a letter extant from the Council to Parker to proceed against him and Dr. Sedgwick, Nov. 9.—C. C. C. Cambridge MSS. cxiv. 16. At Newcastle, the sermon of Sandys is commended in the Acts of the Visitation: “*verbo omnipotentis Dei ad populum sincere predicato.*” Hennington vicarage was sequestrated. There were about ten cases of incontinency: two from Tynemouth (p. 78). Christ. Parker was admitted to Mansfield. It was presented that in St. Andrew’s parish “they had no register book.” At Alnwick they “*receperunt billas presentationum, et prefatus Barnardus Gilpin examinavit clerum eorundemque subscriptiones ad articulos religionis suscepit.*” It was presented that at Rothbury “their images stand still in the church: there is no register book: there is no poor man’s box.”

† At Carlisle, Lancelot Salkeld, the dean, “*personaliter comparuit, et perlectis sibi susceptæ religionis articulis voluntarie et bono animo subscripsit.*” The prebendaries, Edw. Michell, Hugo Sewell, Barnabas Kirkbride, R. Brandling, and the minor canons, Jn. Thompson, Jn. Austin, H. Monk, J. Richardson, Thos. Watson, Wm. Hayre, A. Douglas, all took the oath (p. 87). Thos. Atkinson was restored to Ormside rectory, and Jn. Yates cast out: Wm. Harrison to Bottell, Rt. Pace cast out: Percival Wharton to Bridekirk, and Wm. Gray cast out (p. 147). It was presented that the dean and Michell, Kirkbride and Brandling had not resided so often as they ought, “nor kept their quarter sermons according to the Statutes”: and that Sewell had not resided so often as he ought.

presented that the dean and two or three of the prebendaries had not been resident so often as they ought, and had not kept their quarterly sermons according to the statutes. One of these defaulters was Hugh Sewell. At Penrith, whither next they went, R. Sewell, whom we have seen preaching before in this itinerary, preached: the clergy and people of the deaneries of Cumberland and Westmoreland underwent the Visitation: a living was sequestered.*

In the diocese of Chester they sat in Richmond parish church, September 28; Sandys preached, and the deaneries of Richmond, Catterick, and Boroughbridge came for Visitation: and one or two of the presentments may be noted: that the people came not well to church; that a man had been burned at Richmond in the late persecution. At Kendal, ten days afterwards, Sandys preached; the deaneries of Kendal, Copeland, and Furness submitted themselves to examination: disputes between parishes were composed: two institutions were made, and four restorations: a town was found to be destitute of curate. At Lancaster, the next place of session, the sermon was preached by Gilpin. At Wigan one institution was made.† At Manchester, in the parish church,

* At Penrith they sequestered the living of Marton "certis rationalibus causis ipsos moventibus" (p. 91).

† Richmond seems to have been visited several times in this perambulation. On Sept. 21, some of the Visitors were there; who restored Ric. Baldwin, Master of St. Nicholas Hospital in Richmond, and drove out Wm. Binny; and restored Rob. Pates to Spennyth to the extradition of Thos. Plewes: and instituted Thos. Bevan to Eddiston, and Rich. Ledbetter to the chapel of Clegton. On Sept. 18 the main Visitation seems to have been held, when Sandys preached and preconised the clergy and people of the deaneries. The vicarage of Rich. Crawford, Myton, was sequestered (p. 93). At Richmond itself it was presented "that the people came not well to the church." Also "that Rich. Sewell had been burned there, being condemned by doctor Dawkyns for religion, 13 Sept., 1556."

Sandys preached : a case of incontinency was heard : and a week afterwards the collegiate church was visited, the commissioners sitting judicially in the chapter house. The Master appeared by proxy; some of the fellows appeared not, or refused to subscribe, and were sentenced accordingly.* The Fellows were

At Kendal, there was presented a dispute between Cockermouth and Embleton, on which it was decided "that the parishioners of Embleton should be contributors and pay to the reparations of the church of Cockermouth, and all other charges of the Church, such duties as they have been accustomed to pay at any time within the thirty years last past." At Cockermouth, "they had neither vicar nor curate to serve the cure these twelve months." In another dispute between Eversham parish and the chapel annexed of Crosthwaite, it was settled "That of all corse and burials within the chapel of Crosthwaite half the money received of the same shall be contributed and given to Eversham Church : also that the parishioners of the chapel of Crosbywaite shall contribute and give quarterly two shillings towards the clerk's wages at Eversham" (p. 96). Another contest about Eversham concerned no less a man than Sandys himself. He laid claim to the living as vicar, casting out "the pretended vicar," Thos. Redman. I do not know whether this is known of Sandys : perhaps it is the real origin of what the Parker Society sketch of his life has, that before Mary's reign "he is said to have been vicar of Haversham in Buckinghamshire." He was a Lancashire man. At Kendal another contest was between Wm. Soorye, former vicar of Sedbergh, who cast out Thos. Atkinson, and who also recovered Orswick vicarage from Thos. Jobson : while the rectory of Bohmer in York diocese was snatched by Geo. Tayler, the former, from Jn. Jackson, the latter occupier (p. 150). At Wigan, Oct. 16, Robert Lilly was instituted to Babworth.

* At Manchester collegiate church the master was Laurence Vaux. Of the Fellows, Copage appeared not ; Erlond subscribed : Prestwich subscribed, but was warned against frequenting taverns on pain of suspension : Ri. Harte refused to subscribe, was fined thirty pounds, and put under recognisance to appear in London in a month (p. 101). The archdeacon of Richmond, Jn. Horleston, was restored against Jn. Hanson, "pretended archdeacon" : Nic. Hyde, vicar of Mottram, was restored against Dan. Ethell : Marmaduke Pulleyn, rector of Ripley, made suit against Robt. Percivall, and the case was referred to London (p. 155). At Northwich, 20 October, "*Domini Commissarii antedicti ob certas rationabiles causas et precipue ob pestem sevientem tam in civitate Cistrensi quam in locis circumvicinis et adjacentibus, illos moventes, ad exercend. et expediend. visitationis Regiæ negotium tam in prefata civitate Cestrensi quam apud Tarvin secundum monitionem in ea parte prius emanatam, dilectos sibi in Christo Edw. Fyton mil. Edm. Scambler S.T.B. Wm. Morton armig. et Thos. Percy gener.*

required repeatedly to exhibit their muniments, but they affirmed that they were all in the custody of their absent master, without their consent. Here an archdeacon cast out an archdeacon, and a vicar a vicar; and a rector got himself and another rector referred to London. All the books in Manchester were reported burned; and from Bury it was presented that the curate would not read the Gospel and Epistle, nor the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments in English, notwithstanding the Proclamation. At Northwich the chief commissioners resigned their labours for fear of the plague, nominating as their substitutes for the remaining work Sir Edmund Fyton, two other laymen, and Scambler. A former rector was restored: there were two institutions. At Tarvin parish church a few days afterwards, these surrogate commissaries sat in form: Scambler preached: presentments of incontinency were made. At Chester in the cathedral church Scambler preached, and a great investigation was made. They noted that the see was vacant long: that the deanery had lain void two years: that there were but two resident prebendaries: and that the

Surrogatos suos nominaverunt et substituerunt, &c., eisque et eorum duobus vices suas et auctoritatem committentes" (p. 104). The sitting at Tarvin church follows, Oct. 24: it was Fyton, Morton, and Scambler. In Chester cathedral church, two days later, it was Scambler and Percy. They went into the choir after sermon, and read letters: then all the neighbouring parochians "*tactis Evangeliiis juraverunt.*" They made a memorandum, "*Quod sedes episcopalis ibidem diu vacavit, quodque Decani dignitas per duos annos vacavit: et in eadem ecclesia solummodo duo sunt prebendarii residentes: dictaque ecclesia Cathedralis tanta est inopia suppressa, ut pauperibus et ecclesiæ ministris salaria sua satisfacere et persolvere non possint.*" A contract of marriage was alleged, in a case of fornication, to have been made by the words: "I am content to marry unto you, whensoever I have my living." As the man could give no reason for not performing this promise, the surrogates ordered him to do so before the year's end (p. 108). Henry Snapp, curate of St. Mary's, Chester, was presented as "a common haunter of alehouses, and besides very negligent in reading of the service" (p. 320).

establishment was in such a beggarly state that they could neither help the poor nor pay the ministers of the church their salaries. There was a somewhat curious matrimonial case decided; and a curate was presented who was a haunter of alehouses.

According to a section in the original survey, which I have now exhibited to the reader, the total number of those clergy who absented themselves from Visitation throughout the Northern Province was over three hundred.* If we were sure that all those who absented

* In the MS. that we have been perusing, there is a section entitled "Sequuntur Nomina omnium absentium qui Regiam Visitationem infra dioces. Ebor. minime subierunt." It only partially corresponds with the records themselves of the Visitation, and makes evident that many things are omitted in them.

<i>York.</i>	
Nottingham Deanery	15
Aynstie	11
Bulmer	6
Halifax	7
Redford and Laneham ...	15
Southwell	6
Newark	9
Malton	25
Beverley and Hull	26
Otley	35
	<hr/> 155

<i>Chester.</i>	
Nomina non comparentium in Visitatione Regia.	
Richmond Deanery	24
(One afterwards appeared and signed: one was not resident.)	
Copeland	10
(One afterwards signed: one not resident.)	
Allan	4
Medii Vici	7
Layland and Blackburn ...	3

Warrington	9
(Two non-resident.)	
Frodsham and Furness ...	10
(One non-resident, three stipendiaries, two after- wards signed.)	
Nurralland Bangor Wirrall	15
(Two non-resident.)	
Manchester	8
(One afterwards signed, one non-resident.)	
	<hr/> 90

<i>Durham.</i>	
Altogether.....	36
(Four were masters or war- dens. Three not resident: one Collinwood of Ford "nullo modo comparuit," i. e. very determined.)	

<i>Carlisle.</i>	
Altogether.....	35
(Six were non-resident, three stipendiaries.)	
Total	<hr/> 316

The total given nearly agrees with Dr. Gee's list. He has also given

themselves were deprived, we should have to increase very much the computation that is usually given of those who were deprived for religion at this time in the whole of England; for this return from only four dioceses is near double of it. But great deductions are to be made, if we compare this sum with the minutes that we have been perusing. According to those minutes, above thirty were absent because they were not; they were cases of vacancy. Above twenty were extruded from livings into which they had been intruded, and it is like enough that they were absent; but it was not exactly because of the alteration of religion that they suffered. As to the remaining large body of the absent, it is not certain that they were deprived. If they were not, and the reason of their absence was recusancy, the government showed forbearance. If this absence was from other reasons, an extraordinarily large number of persons were absent from this Visitation from causes of which nothing is known. The number who are certainly known from the minutes to have undergone deprivation for refusing the Oath and the Articles of the Visitation, in the four dioceses, was not more than over sixty.

The less perfect memorials of the Visitation of the Southern Province have not attracted the attention which they deserve, and yet would sometimes disappoint. As it regarded the city of London, the

the names (p. 83). He remarks (in effect in his notes) that there were about 1,130 clergy in the whole Province. He has given a list of restitutions, which agree with those that the reader has seen in my footnotes, except that I have no T. Whytbee and no Rob. Wisdom, while he has no Miles Walker and no Wm. Yokesall: and that his J. Rudd is restored only to a prebend, not to a vicarage as well. Many of the absences were by reason of vacancy. If with the vacant we may compute the livings to which the Commission gave institution, the number would be considerably increased.

metropolis itself, this Ambulatory Visitation was complicated by no less an event than the simultaneous erection of the celebrated Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes, commonly entitled the Court of High Commission, by a writ of July 19. Provided for by an empowering section of the Act of Supremacy, the Act had not been long passed before it was called into existence. As it was designed for a standing court of universal ecclesiastical jurisdiction, it was headed by ecclesiastical personages; but, as in that solitude of deprivation or vacancy there were no actual prelates, the nominate Bishop of Canterbury and the nominate Bishop of London (so were they named in the writ) were they who took the position; and Parker and Grindal, long before their ceremonial birth to office was complete, wellnigh before they had begun to be, were yoked together in the machine in which they were ordained to perform the most irksome and protracted labours of their lives. One of them, and Smith, Haddon, Sackforde, Gooderick, or Gerrard, were to be of the quorum of six: and thirteen other persons, knights, serjeants, and doctors, composed the total sum of nineteen. They were to enquire into the working of the new Acts; into seditious books, heretical opinions, false rumours, or slanderous words; into disturbance of divine service, wilful absence from church; to restore unjustly deprived ministers; to deal such punishments as they deemed expedient, use such means as they thought fit, and receive recognisances from offenders or suspect persons who should be referred to them. Some of their powers, about vagabonds, were confined to London, and had the effect of fixing them there, and causing them not to wander.* They held their sessions in

* Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* i. 226; Gee, 147. Dr. Gee's chapter on this

the vast edifice which it was the first care of the Ambulatory Commission also to visit; they were superior to the Ambulatory Commission, which referred some cases to them. They sat in the consistory of St. Paul's, which had so lately echoed with the sentences of Bonner.

The Ambulatory Commissioners began about the same time their Visitation in St. Paul's. The proceedings were the same as in the North. The business was in the hands of three, the well-known Doctor Horne, a doctor of laws named Huick, and a jurisperite named Salvyn.* The English Litany was said: Horne preached sincerely and learnedly the word of God to a great multitude: then the Commissioners went to the chapter house, opened their commission, and sat judicially. The resistance of Bonner's citadel was bold. Few of the ministers appeared when they were cited: the rest were pronounced contumacious. John Harpsfield Archdeacon of London, Nicolas Harpsfield prebendary, and John Willerton, one of Bonner's chaplains, refused the admonition to obey the Queen's Injunctions, or to subscribe to the Prayer Book, or Book of Religion: not of malice, they protested, but through imperfect knowledge.† They were bidden to purge the church of images and altars and provide

Commission is very valuable. Remark particularly that it was designed to be a stationary support to the whole Ambulatory Visitation, North as well as South: and that it is probable that all the cases of recognisances, North and South alike, were referred to this body. They seem to have been dealt with very leniently, and most of them silently dropped.

* "The Visitors sat at Pauls, master doctor Horne, and master (Huick) and master (Salwyn) upon master Harpsfield and divers other." Aug. 11. —Machyn, 206.

† "Animis non maliciosis aut obstinatis, sed ex ea tantum causa, quod conscientiiis non salvis adhuc in ea parte non plene instructis in receptionem Injunctionum aut subscriptionem religionis consentire non potuerunt."—Strype, i. 169, as from Grindal's *Register*.

a decent table. They refused to do it, under the same protestation. They were bound under their recognisances in penalty of two hundred pounds apiece. It must be said that great patience and forbearance was exercised by the Commissioners in visiting St. Paul's. They returned and sat there at various intervals from August to November on four or five days; repeatedly preconising the absent, granting further delay to the scrupulous, and uttering warnings of graver measures to be taken against the contumacious, the contumacy increasing more. When Bonner's chancellor, the well-known Doctor Darbyshire, at length appeared, and demanded further time for the better information of his soul, they sent him to the resident Commissioner. When Archdeacon Standish of Colchester at length sent a proxy to say that he had partially submitted himself in the North, but that he was not satisfied in some things, they pronounced him contumacious, but reserved his punishment. When Westcote, the master of the choristers, appeared, upon further cry being made, and desired further deliberation, they granted him to the next sitting. It was only when Bonner's chaplain Morwen, and when Richard Marshall, William Murmer, and John Stopes appeared not at all, after reiterated calls, that they were pronounced contumacious, and deprived forthwith of their prebends. In this part of their work the Commissioners received the subscription of some twenty of the clergy, including several prebendaries. Among their other commandments they forbade the tonsure, amice, and cope to be used in the cathedral church.* It may be observed that the request for deliberation was not unreasonable in itself, for certainly there had not been

* "Aliquibus coronis rasis, amisiis aut vestibus vocat. le coopes."—*Strype*, as above, p. 170.

much time to digest the revised English Service, and the Injunctions may never have been seen before.*

The Visitors proceeded thence to other city churches, to the Hospital of the Savoy, the church of St. Catherine, the church of Clerkenwell, the church of St. Mary le Bone. They were at St. Bride's, St. Laurence, Jewry, and St. Michael's, Cornhill, on successive days.† They then perused the rest of the diocese, citing the clergy and others concerned to the central points of Weald, Chelmsford, Shotford, Dunmow, and Colchester. Everywhere they received the subscription of the clergy to a written declaration that the restoration of the ancient jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical and Temporal of the Realm, the Book of Common Prayer, and the orders and rules contained in the Queen's Injunctions, were according to the true word of God, and the use and doctrine of the primitive and Apostolic Church. Whether this declaration were additional to the Oath of the Supremacy, or equivalent to it, there is perhaps no means of certainly knowing, but it seems to have been used throughout the kingdom.‡ They received altogether the adherence of near four hundred and fifty of the clergy.

* This is remarked by Dr. Gee, speaking of the Northern Visitation. "The Injunctions had been presumably heard for the first time in their revised shape when Percy read them out in the morning of the day on which they were first subscribed."—*Eliz. Clergy*, 78.

† "The 21 day of August the visitors sat at St. Brides, doctor Horne and two more, for two churchwardens were sworn to bring a true inventory of the Church." "The 22 day of August the visitors sat at St. Lawrence in the Jewry, doctor Horne and more visitors." "The 23 day of August the visitors sat at St. Michael in Cornhill likewise for the Church goods."—Machyn, 207.

‡ Strype gives this declaration from the Lambeth Records, mentioning it only of the London Visitation.—*Ann.* i. 255. Dr. Gee gives it as used in York: and offers strong reasons for concluding that it was a summary form previously drawn up to embrace the three crucial points of the Supremacy, the Prayer Book, and the Injunctions.—*Eliz. Clergy*, 45 and 77.

If loyalty and conformity had been the only business of this party of Visitors, their only monument might have been the official acts of an episcopal register, and a long list of names of clergy subscribed beneath the declaration required of them, which is preserved in a parchment scroll in a library.* But their scope was

* No one but Strype seems to have seen this important original before it was consulted by Dr. Gee and by myself. It is in the Lambeth Library, *Chartæ Miscell.* vol. xiii. pt. ii. No. 57. Strype's description of it is very brief: "This (declaration) was writ at the top of a long scroll of parchment, with the names of the subscribing clergy and their respective livings, underwritten by themselves."—*Annals*, i. 255. It consists of twelve parchment sheets, having the declaration, as Strype gives it, on the top of each page, i.e. written twenty-four times in full: the signatures of the clergy come under this, for the dioceses of London and Norwich (but not of Ely) in the following order. As to the form used, most write "per me," some "volens subscripsi," one or two otherwise.

Page 1.	Signatures	Page 7.	Signatures
Several prebendaries of St. Paul's and others	20	In Eccl. parochiali de Chelmsford	47
Hospital de le Savoy	13	(One "Ore non tantum sed ab intimo corde subscribo.")	
In Ecclesia S. Katherine	6		
In Ecclesia de Clerkenwell ...	18		
		Page 8.	
Page 2.		Chelmsford (<i>continued</i>)	32
Clerkenwell (<i>continued</i>)	3	Shotford	24
In Eccl. Beate Marie	25		
St. Bride's	31	Page 9.	
		Chelmsford (<i>continued</i>)	30
Page 3.		(His omnibus ex animo consentit R. Columbelle qui jam curam agit gregis Dominici apud Horneade Magnam)	
In Eccl. S. Laurentii in Judaisimo	38		
		Page 10.	
Page 4.		Dunmow	44
St. Michael's, Cornhill	30		
		Page 11.	
Page 5.		Colchester	38
St. Michael's, Cornhill (<i>continued</i>)	5		
		Page 12.	
Page 6.		Apud Ipswich prima Sessio ...	32
Apud Wealde	44	("Wm. Salebank volens subscripsi.")	

wider, and they applied their commands with a vigour which, in London at least, constituted an era of purification, and compelled the attention of several contemporaries. A great part of their business was taking inventories of church goods at the hand of wardens, demolishing roods and other emblems, and removing and burning all such things. At St. Bride's they took an inventory of the church,

	Signa- tures		Signa- tures
Secunda Sessio ibidem	16	("per me Jn. Willoughby rectorem de Stowing præ- missa confitentem et ag- noscentem.")	
Page 13.			
Secunda Sessio (<i>continued</i>) ...	10		
Tertia Sessio ibidem	23		
Page 14.		Page 19.	
Blythborrow	20	Prima Sessio apud Walsingham	44
Beccles	23	(Mostly "volens," some "per me.")	
Page 15.		Page 20.	
In Eccles. Cathedrali Norwicens.	21	Secunda Sessio apud Walsing- ham	26
(Eight prebendaries, canons, and a schoolmaster.)		(One "per me.")	
Prima Sessio in Eccles. Par- ochiali S. Petri Mancroft, Norwici	35	Apud Lynne Regis	31
(Nearly all "volens sub- scripsi.")		(All "volens.")	
Page 16.		Page 21.	
Secunda Sessio Norwici.....	34	Lynne Regis	3
("per me.")		Apud Swaffham	44
Page 17.		(Mixed)	
Tertia Sessio Norwici	47	Page 22.	
(Mostly "volens subscripsi," some "per me.")		Apud Thetford.....	21
Page 18.		(Mixed)	
North Walsham	43	Prima Sessio apud Bury	15
(Mostly "volens.")		Page 23.	
Apud Walsingham	2	Bury (<i>continued</i>).....	25
		(Mixed)	
		Page 24.	
		Secunda Sessio ibid.	50
		(Mixed)	

Dr. Gee has given the names and benefices of the subscribing clergy. He acutely remarks that whereas the Northern returns only give the absent clergy, these only give the clergy who came and complied.

August 21 : the next day in St. Lawrence, Jewry, the same : the same the day following in St. Michael's, Cornhill. They took the occasion of their repeated visitations of St. Paul's to purify the mighty church with absolute fury. The great altar was demolished : altars, images, and roods were cast forth in Paul's churchyard, in Cheapside, and with especial solemnity on the awful plat of Smithfield : to the heaps of material that were gathered the torch was applied ; and on several successive nights the crowd beheld the sky illuminated with the flaming utensils of religion. On St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, "two great bonfires of roods and of Maries and Johns and other images" were set up by Ironmonger Lane and St. Thomas of Acres, and "burned with great wonder," the Lord Mayor and the civic authorities gracing the scene by their presence.* Next day near St. Botolph's, Billingsgate, the rood of the church, the images of St. Mary, St. John, and St. Botolph made a pile : a preacher stood within the church wall and made a sermon, what time "the books of superstition" belonging to the church were thrown into the fire, and the wooden cross that stood in the churchyard was taken away.† On September 16 a similar conflagration was made of the rood, the St. John and St. Mary, and other furniture of St. Magnus, Fish Street.‡ This cleansing of temples, taking place the most part about Bartholomew tide ; on the eve, the day, the day after

* "The 24 day of August, being St. Bartholomew's day, my lord mayor came home thro Chepe, and against Ironmonger Lane, and against St. Thomas of Acres, 2 great bonfires of roods and of Maries and Johns and other images, there they were burned with great wonder."—Machyn, 207.

† "There was a fellow within the church wall made a sermon at the burning of the church goods," &c.—*Ib.* 208.

‡ Strype, *Annals*, i. 171.

the day of St. Bartholomew, may be said to make a Bartholomean era in our annals, an era to which the epithet that denotes the colour of darkness may be considered inappropriate.* The destruction of roods and images gave disgust to many, and was greatly canvassed in foreign parts.† So far as it sprang from revenge it is to be regretted, but it may have been the outlet that prevented a fiercer retaliation. For the ashes of Smithfield were not then cold.‡

This stringent party pursued their circuit through the dioceses of Norwich and of Ely. In the former they held several sessions in the cathedral church: several in Ipswich; others in Walsham, Walsingham, Lynn Regis, Swaffham, Thetford, Bury, and elsewhere. About five hundred and sixty clergy with a various alacrity, discernible it may be in their forms of

* Because it is already appropriated. We all know what "Black Bartholomew" was. Some of the worthies who were ousted then distinguished the title-pages of their indignant treatises by the date of "the Bartholomean era" in addition to the Christian era. The events of a hundred years previous, which we are considering, shall not be designated White: but their connexion with St. Bartholomew's Day was remarked when they happened. "The time afore Bartholomew tide and after, was all the roods and Maries and Johns, and many other of the church goods, both copes, crosses, censers, altar cloths, rood cloths, books, banners, bannerstays, wainscot, and much other gear about London" destroyed, says Machyn, 208. "The burning of images in Bartholomew Fair is here much spoken of."—*For. Cal.*, p. 535.

† Challoner wrote to Cecil from Antwerp that some considered it to be done in aid of "the Scottish revolt," i. e. the outbreak of Knox's reformation: others, that it was no wonder, but consequent on the religion reformed, though it was not necessary, but out of envy that the burning was public. In particular it was said that the taking down of the rood of St. Paul's was done in contumely of King Philip. Sept. 2.—*Ib.* p. 535.

‡ Cecil once told old Lord Paget, who thought that Mary had succeeded in turning the realm to the Pope, "My lord, you are therein so far deceived, that I fear rather an inundation of the contrary part, so universal a boiling and bubbling of stomachs I see, that cannot yet digest the crudity of that time." Shelley to Cecil.—*Strype*, i. 176. Sir Rd. Shelley was so disgusted with the destruction of crosses that he stayed out of England. Others abroad did the same: others went out.

expression, applied their hands to the scroll that was offered them. The number of near a hundred gathered in Ely, in Cambridge, and in some other place of meeting, was the equal proportion of a smaller diocese.*

The circuit of Canterbury, Rochester, Chichester, and Winchester was entrusted to the well-known Thomas Becon, a returned exile, sometime Cranmer's chaplain, to a doctor of laws named Weston, and to Robert Nowell. But there is scarce a trace of their steps in regions where they might perchance have met with some resistance. All that is known is that in the city of Winchester the dean and canons left their service, refusing the new service; and were followed by the Warden and Fellows of New College, and the Master of Holy Cross. But this may have been previous to the Visitation.† Becon was rewarded for his labours by a stall in Canterbury, but he was not in it by the beginning of August, when Parker was elected archbishop by the chapter of Christ Church: and if the records of the Visitation there be scanty, the work of the Visitation had been done in the purging of the chapter a little beforehand upon that occasion. When Parker was elected, Wotton, the travelled Dean of Canterbury, on whom the eyes of the Romanensians had been doubtfully fixed,‡ marked his adherence to Elizabeth's measures by marching into the chapter house with four canons. The rest he preconised; but neither Nicolas Harpsfield, the arch-deacon, nor the six other canons who constituted the chapter made their appearance. He waited long, he

* Gee, pp. 97 and 117.

† So the Marquis of Winchester wrote to Cecil as early as June 30: adding that order must be taken about it.—*Dom. Cal.*, p. 133.

‡ There are several notices in the *Foreign Calendars* of the doubt whether Wotton would take the Oath or not.

preconised again and again. At length they were pronounced contumacious, and suffered the penalty.*

Of the Visitation of Salisbury, and the rest of the south-west, Jewel, who with two others bore the brunt, has left the chief surviving description. "I am about to set out," wrote he to Martyr on the first of August, "on a long and troublesome commission for settling religion, through Reading, Abingdon, Gloucester, Bristol, Bath, Wells, Exeter, Cornwall, Dorset, and Salisbury. The circuit of my journey will be seven hundred miles, the duration can hardly be less than four months." In November he wrote again, "I am returned to London after a most weary expedition. For three whole months have I been held by this distant and difficult investigation. And what have I done in it, you ask? We found the people everywhere well disposed to religion, even in places where the greatest difficulty was apprehended. But it is incredible the forest of superstitions that had grown up in Mary's dark days. Everywhere were votive relics, nails with which the infatuate people believed that the Saviour had been pierced, flinders of the Sacred Cross. The number of witches and sorceresses had increased enormously. The cathedral churches were, to say the best and the purest, dens of thieves. If obstinate malice were found anywhere, it was among the priests, especially those who once stood on our side. They, not to seem to have changed their opinions without reason, disturb all that they can. Let them disturb. Exturbed them have we, from

* The rest were Hugh Turnbull, Ric. Fawcet, Ralf Jackson, Robt. Collins, John Knight, Tho. Wood.—Strype's *Parker*, i. 103. Fawcet, Collins, and Wood were deprived; Wood was imprisoned; Jackson and Knight afterwards, in the London Visitation, signed the declaration. It will be remembered that Canterbury was the place of some of the greatest horrors of the persecution.

office and benefice. The ranks of the papists are fallen almost of their own accord. Oh, if vigour were not lacking in us, there were hope of religion. But it is hard to drive the chariot uphill without horses."* The official minutes of this circuit have not been preserved, but some particulars about it have been brought to light recently from other sources.†

The Visitation of Lincoln, Peterborough, Lichfield, and Oxford, was entrusted to the excellent Bentham, to Nevinson a doctor of laws, and one Fleetwood. Their official monument, a paper book of nigh forty pages of clerical autographs, which is extant, indicates the stations, the days, and, by the total number of over eight hundred names, the success of their peregrination.‡ They fixed their ensigns at Louth, at

* *Zurich Letters*, i. Epistt. xvi. and xix. For clearness it may be noted that Jewel describes his road as well as his circuit. He started at Reading and came out at Salisbury. But he had nothing official to do with Reading or Abingdon. His Commission names his district the other way, beginning with Salisbury or Sarum.

† Gee, p. 100.

‡ This original is in the same Lambeth volume of *Chartæ Miscell.* as the other which we have considered: it is next to it, No. 58. It is of paper, not parchment. [This volume (vol. xiii.) was laid together after Strype's time.] It is entitled "*Liber Subscriptionum Clericorum sub initium Regni Elizabeth.*" The first page contains "The Oath for the clergy," thus: "You shall swear that you shall be faithful and obedient unto the Queen's Majesty, her heirs and successors, and to the uttermost of your power, understanding and learning ye shall maintain and set forth all statutes and laws and the religion received by her grace her heirs and successors, and the Injunctions at this time exhibited by her grace, her officers or commissioners, and that you shall make true presentment of all such things as are to be presented in this Visitation: so help you God and by the contents of the book." The next page is headed with the same declaration or acknowledgment that is in the London Visitation, followed by—

Page	Signatures	Page	Signatures
1	(?) 12	6 At Lincoln, 11 Sept.	59
3 At Louth, 6 Sept.	42	8 " 12 Sept.	50
4 At Lincoln Cathedral	19	9 At Leicester, 15 Sept.	64

Lincoln, at Leicester: they moved thence to Derby, to Lichfield, to Shrewsbury: to Coventry thence: and thence to Woodstock, Thame, and Beaconsfield. Everywhere they found that they who subscribed subscribed willingly. Of Peterborough there are no returns.

Of the remaining circuit of Worcester, Hereford, and the four Welsh sees, which was taken by Davies, Young, Merrick, and Richard Pates a lawyer, no minutes exist; the fortunes of two deans is the only recorded incident, the subsequent recollections of one of them the only narrative of the Visitation. Seth Holland, Dean of Worcester, refused the Oath and was deprived: and Guest made application unsuccessfully to succeed him.* Edmund Daniel, Dean of Hereford, refused the Oath and was deprived; years afterwards, upon a foreign soil, he had occasion to recall and describe the event. "When I was Dean of Hereford, four delegates came, sent by the Queen, to visit that church and the whole diocese: and I heard the Commission read. And in that Commission authority was given them over ecclesiastics, to deprive and imprison them: in particular such as should refuse to subscribe

Page	Signa- tures	Page	Signa- tures
12 At Leicester, 16 Sept.	95	30 At Woodstock, the 6 Oct....	35
15 At Derby, the 17 Sept. ...	42	31 " 7 Oct.	26
18 " the 19 Sept.....	39	32 At Thame, the 9 of Oct. ...	18
18 At Lichfield, the 22 Sept....	18	34 " the 10 of Oct. ...	25
19 " 25 Sept....	113	35 At Beaconsfield	13
24 At Shrewsbury, 27 Sept. ...	70	36 At London	24
27 At Coventry, 30 Sept.	29		828
28 " 2 Oct.	35		

Throughout this book the form is "Ego A. B. volens subscripsi." On p. 3 occurs the beautiful autograph of Augustinus Benhere, Latimer's friend. Dr. Gee makes the total of Lincoln, Lichfield, and Oxford, 798. He gives the names, *Eliz. Clergy*, p. 124. See his remarks *ibid.*, p. 102.

* Guest to Cecil. Aug. 31.—*Dom. Cal.* 137.

to certain heretical and schismatical Articles: which Articles were of this kind: that it had ever been the prerogative of the English prince to decide ecclesiastical causes apart from other potentates, as it was contained in the Oath; and that every one should acknowledge to be good and pious the forms which Parliament had ratified for keeping the Hours and ministering the Sacraments. These Articles were exhibited to me before the Oath, that I should put my name to them: in my presence they were presented to all the priests of my church, in which I was dean, and to the whole chapter before my eyes. And I saw them: and I saw upon them the Queen's great seal."*

The Universities and the college of Eton were reserved for their own treatment under separate Commissions, persons called General Commissioners for that. Thus Cambridge was given to the hands of her Chancellor Cecil, to Parker, Bill, Horne, Pilkington, and May, to Walter Haddon and physician Wendy. Of these Dean May was present at the Visitation, which was on September 7, in King's College Chapel: Pilkington also was present, and he both ministered the Oath as Visitor, and took it as future Head of a House. The Heads who refused were six or seven: Bullock of St. John's, whom Pilkington succeeded in a month, Young of Pembroke, the Vice-Chancellor of the reign of Mary, Thomas Redman of Jesus College, Baker of King's, Taylor of Christ's College, Mowse and Bailey of Trinity Hall and Clare Hall. The purgation seems scarcely to have gone lower than

* This occurs in his Latin deposition against the Queen in the Roman Curia, when the Pope formed a Process against her in 1570.—Raynaldus, *sub anno*, p. 158.

Heads.* At Oxford it has been supposed hitherto by some that the decapitating blow was felt by double the number of colleges: and that these corporations suffered amazingly in the fellowship of members. But recent enquiry has proved that former computations have included a great number of deprivations, flights, and expulsions which belong to subsequent years: and that the mournful procession which was closed by Friar John de Villa Garcia, the King's Reader of Divinity, contained no more Heads than were taken off at Cambridge, and only two more Fellows than Heads. The Commission which the Visitors bore was rather to enquire into the state and discipline of the Universities than to press subscription: and as they received, we may presume that they deserved the thanks of Oxford for the moderation which they showed.†

* Strype, i. 167; *Dom. Cal.* 131. The Commission was dated June 20. Strype, in his *Life of Parker* (Bk. i. ch. ix.), gives some account of some obscure previous intrigues, by which the refusing Heads were thought to be getting ready "peradventure to slide away with a gain." He says that he found nothing of the transactions. Nothing seems extant of deprivations of members and officers; only of the Heads above given. It is remarkable that no such members or officers are named in Dodd's "Imperfect Catalogue" of persons who opposed the Reformation in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. Dr. Gee has found none, and it may be concluded that there were none. Gee's list of deprived Heads is the same in number, but with three differences in names from that given above.

† The Cambridge Commission has been printed by Dr. Gee. No doubt the Oxford was the same. It is a finely-written piece, which any University might meditate. It begins with affirming God's glory, the true end of knowledge, and the objects of a University. "Cum a Deo Patre in lucem editi omnes et suscepti sumus ut Deum auctorem omnium gloria afficiamus, prima omnium cura debet esse ut quae sit Dei vera gloria intelligamus, atque eam omnibus officiis et studiis persequamur: e cognitione enim debet efflorescere actio, quae nisi certa scientia et vera in Deum fide nitatur, complacita esse Deo nullo modo potest," &c.—Gee, 133. Who can imagine an official instrument of the present day opening in that manner? It then proceeds to instruct the Visitors first to enquire into life and learning, then to enforce subscription, and punish the obstinate.

The struggles of several of the more eminent of the Oxford men at this juncture have been annealed by the pen of Jewel, who exultingly watched the harrowing, in which he bore no share, of the place of his own former bitter ordeal. "Harding," wrote he to Peter Martyr, "with unstedfast stedfastness has preferred to change his abode rather than his opinion. Sidall has subscribed, but stedfastly, that is with a stedfast reluctance, which keeps him stedfast in abode. However friend Sidall studies silence, keeps his opinions to himself, and is neither among the birds nor the beasts. But what of Smith, thou wilt say: yea, thou wilt ask after thine old enemy Smith. Well, he has maintained his old stedfastness in this way: he has recanted five times. I assure thee it is so. The blockhead was prepared to run away into Scotland, but he stuck on the borders and was brought back. Whereupon this pillar of religion came over to us, and is the hottest enemy that the papists have."* In another letter he

Dr. Gee has given abundant reasons for concluding that the long lists of expelled Heads and Fellows in Wood's *Hist. of Oxford* and Tierney's *Dodd* (vol. ii. App. 44) far exceed the results of this Visitation. From those lists it appears that fifteen or sixteen Heads were removed, and thirty-six Fellows; New College losing fifteen Fellows, but keeping its Head. It is not certain, however, that Wood and Tierney meant their lists for this Visitation only, and not for the whole beginning of Elizabeth. The same may be said of Heylin's "fifteen Presidents or Masters of Colleges" (*Ref.* ii. 295), which, however, may be the Oxford and Cambridge Heads added together. Dr. Gee considers that on this occasion there were eight Heads deprived, including the famous Chedsey of Corpus Christi: and ten Fellows, including R. Smith and Tresham of Christ Ch. To these he adds John de Villa Garcia, Reg. Prof. Div., and J. Smith, Marg. Prof. Div., p. 136, cf. p. 224.

* "Hardingus, homo constans, locum mutare maluit quam sententiam. Sidallus subscripsit quidem sed constanter, hoc est, perinvitus. Smithæus autem tuus—quid ille? inquires. . . . Mihi crede, ut veterem illam suam constantiam retineret, nunc tandem etiam quinto recantavit. Fatuus cum videret religionem esse immutatam, mutata veste, statim fugam ornaverat in Scotiam: sed cum hæreret in finibus, captus est et retractus ex itinere.

reports that Smith was gone into Wales, was married, and keeping a cookshop, "held in contempt by both sides, by old and young, by known and unknown, by himself and by every one besides."* But Richard Smith's course was not so ignominious as this. Whatever he did before the Visitation, when the Visitation came, he refused the Oath, and was sent by the Commissioners to the Council in London: and by them remitted to the Elects of Canterbury and London for persuasion. With them he read the Admonition, or exposition of the Oath inserted in the Injunctions, and declared himself ready to take the Oath: subscribing in token a declaration, which they drew, stipulating that on his return to Oxford the Commissioners should not disgrace him by too public a retractation. Other things then befel him, and in the end he was deprived and went abroad. Of another of these deprived residents,† Anthony Atkins, Fellow of Merton, who refused the Oath, we know that he also was sent by the Commissioners to London: and he was put in the Tower.‡

The eyes of both parties, with lingering hope or

Ibi statim homo gravis, et columen atque antistes religionis, accessit ad nos, reliquit omnes suos, et repente factus est adversarius infestissimus Papistarum."—*Zurich Lett.*, i. 26 (Lat.), Nov. 2, 1559. Harding was not deprived at this time.

* "Contemptus a nostris, a suis, a notis, ab ignotis, a senibus, a pueris, a se ipso, ab omnibus." In the same comprehensive (or exclusive) spirit he says: "Sidallus noster Harpocratem colit, et tegit sententiam, itaque nunc nec inter aves nec quadrupedes numeratur."—*Ib.* p. 47, June, 1560.

† Strype gives an account of Smith's affairs, *Life of Parker*, Bk. i. ch. x. He behaved rather badly to Parker; he escaped to Paris, got to Douay, and received preferment there, dying in about four years. The Letter of Council to Parker and Grindal, to "take such means as they should think meet" to persuade him, Aug. 24, is C. C. C., Cambridge, MSS. cxiv. 14.

‡ There is a Letter of Council about him, Sept. 7, in C. C. C., Cambridge, MSS. lxiv. 22.

reproachful regret, were ever fixed upon the royal chapel or oratory: for the sacred spot whence had issued the first hopes of the one now held forth the last encouragements of the other. There the images still stood; the crucifix, "the little silver cross," maintained its place: and the lights still burned over the undemolished altar. Comforted by the view, one of the deprived students of Oxford, John Marshall, published a treatise on the Cross, which he dedicated to the Queen because of "her good affection to the Cross."* On the other hand the inconsistency of maintaining such ornaments in a private chapel, when altars, roods, and images everywhere were going to the hammer and the flame, was vigorously represented to the Queen by the Evangelics. Parker and others of the elect bishops laid before her long and earnest addresses and remonstrances.† Cox, the admired orator, being appointed to minister the Holy Communion in her chapel, long refused, and obeyed at

* Marshall's *Treatise of the Cross*, which he "had the confidence to dedicate to Queen Elizabeth, emboldened upon her retaining the Image of the Cross in her chapel," Strype, *Ann.* i. 176, was answered in 1565 by another Oxford man, Calfhill, whose work is in the Parker Society's series.

† The longest of these addresses was partly printed by Burnet, in vol. v. p. 530; cf. ii. 629 (Pocock's edition). He thought that it was made before the Injunctions. Strype (*Annals*, i. 331) also gave it in part: and held it to be of the following year, 1560. In this he was right. He also gave it in part in his *Life of Parker*, Bk. ii. ch. vi. It is in the Corpus College 'Synodalia,' whence it was printed in full by Wilkins, iv. 196: also in Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* i. 268. In it the bishops refer to former remonstrances which they had made. "We have heretofore at sundry times made petition to your majesty concerning the matter of images, but at no time exhibited any reasons for the removing of the same." They beseech her "to refer the decision of such controversies to a synod of bishops and other godly learned men": and "not to blemish the fame of her most godly brother," who had ordered the removal of images. It would appear, then, that they had protested at the time of the Injunctions, or even before.

length with a trembling conscience, which he discharged "prostrate and with wet eyes" in a submissive letter and a paper of Considerations.* There was danger lest the Queen's chapel should become a test applied to men likely for high preferment. Sampson, who was contemplated for the see of Norwich, sent Peter Martyr a lamentable picture of her doings and his own predicament. "O my father, what can I hope when the ministry of Christ is banished from the Court, and the Crucifix allowed with lights burning before it? Altars and images are removed throughout the kingdom, and retained at Court alone. The wretched multitude rejoice at this, and will imitate it willingly. What can I hope, when three of our new bishops are to stand at the Lord's Table, as priest, as deacon, as subdeacon, decked in the papistic vestments all of gold, in front of the Crucifix, or not far from it, and thus to celebrate the Lord's Supper without a sermon? In such dumb relics of idolatry my countrymen seek religion, and let the living voice of God be silent. Now tell me your opinion. Suppose the Queen should require all the bishops and clergy to admit the Crucifix and lights in churches, or to leave their ministry, ought we not to quit the ministry? I put it to you. Some of our friends are inclined to think it indifferent. I think we should rather suffer deprivation."† The

* He first gives reasons why he "dare not minister in her grace's chapel, the Cross and lights remaining." He then gives Considerations why he "cannot yield to have images set up in churches": ending, "I cannot without offence of God and conscience yield to the setting up of images in the temple of my God and Creator." Strype has given this from the Petyt MSS. 173, in his *Annals*, i. App. No. 22.

† *Zurich Lett.* i. 63, Jan. 6, 1560. Martyr answered affirmatively, after weighing the matter carefully. "Will any one who knows religion behold you, a messenger of Christ and strenuous trumpeter of the Gospel, standing at an altar dressed in vestments, praying before the image of the Crucified, reciting holy words and distributing sacraments,

anxiety of the clergy was shared by some of the laymen: and the Evangelic Sir Francis Knowles wrote to Parker, wishing him success in his good enterprise against "the enormities" of the Chapel Royal.* But the Queen's resolution was not manifested in this example only. Her aim was neither to elate the one party intolerably, nor depress the other dangerously; but, so long as it should be possible, to keep the balance wavering. It could not but be discovered that her brother's orders about altars and lights were not repeated in her Injunctions: that in them there was no compulsory commandment for the demolition of altars, although it seemed to be permitted. The destruction of images appears indeed to have been general throughout the country.† But the matter was not at an end. They might be restored.

Another piece of consolation was spread before the high or ceremonial party (if I may so call them) also in the Injunctions and in the new Service Book. It was about vestments. Many of the clergy who had laid aside the ornaments and habits used in the former reign, now finding them prescribed by authority, resumed them for the sake of obedience. Such men must have been Evangelics. The other sort, prebendaries in cathedral churches or priests in parishes, beheld their uncongenial brethren robed like themselves, and persuaded themselves and their people that

and not conclude that you not only endure but approve such rites?"—*Zurich Lett.* ii. 25, cf. Let. xiv. There is some difficulty about the dates here. Sampson was relieved of his necessity. The see of Norwich was not pressed on him.

* This unpublished letter is dated "from the Court, 13 Oct., 1559."—Nasmith's *Cat. of C. C. C., Cambridge, MSS.* p. 159.

† Jewel said in January, 1560, "The altars indeed are removed, and images also throughout the kingdom."—*Zurich Lett.*, p. 63. Sandys said in April, 1560, "All images of every kind were at our last visitation not only taken down but also burnt, and that by public authority."—*Ib.* p. 74.

as the outward appearance was the same, the former doctrines would soon be restored, or perhaps had never been altered.* The severer among the Evangelic leaders protested in vain, and made no head against the habits. They were deserted here by their followers, and at variance with some of their fellows, and uncertain of themselves from time to time. They consulted their oracles, Peter Martyr or Bullinger. "The papistic vestments remain in our Church, I mean copes," said Sandys.† "I wish I could exterminate ridiculous garbs," said Jewel: "our rulers think to recommend by comic vestments the priests whom they find everywhere to be blockheads without learning or morals: they would fascinate the people with ludicrous rubbish."‡ Bullinger held that their scruples were right: but Martyr bade them yield them, rather than lose the office of preaching: that habits were less

* "In Injunctionibus a Regina editis post Parlamentum præscribuntur ministris ecclesiasticis ornatus aliqui, quales sacrificuli olim habuerunt et adhuc habent. Plurimi ministri, qui omnes tales deposuissent antea, nunc tamen obedientiæ, ut aiunt, causa iterum similes resumunt et induunt. Pauci sane sumus qui tales vestes abhorremus, non enim ignoramus quam inde occasionem papistæ captent ad offensionem infirmorum. Nam in cathedralibus ecclesiis præbendarii, et in cæteris ecclesiis rurales sacrificuli, externas vestes et internos animos ex papismo retinentes, ita fascinant aures et oculos multorum, ut non possunt (*sic*) non credere papisticam quoque doctrinam adhuc retentam esse, aut saltem brevi restituendam fore." Lever to Bullinger.—*Zurich Lett.* i. 50 (Lat.).

† "Tantum manent in Ecclesia nostra vestimenta illa papistica, copas intellige, quas diu non duraturas speramus." Sandys to Martyr.—*Ib.* 43.

‡ "De religione quod scribis, et veste scenica, o utinam id impetrari potuisset! Nos quidem tam bonæ causæ non defuimus. Sed illi quibus ista tantopere placuerunt, credo, sequuti sunt inscitiam presbyterorum: quos quoniam nihil aliud videbant esse quam stipites sine ingenio, sine doctrina, sine moribus, veste saltem comica volebant populo commendari. Nam ut alantur bonæ literæ, et surrogetur seges aliqua doctorum hominum, nulla, o Deus bone, nulla hoc tempore cura suscipitur. Itaque quoniam vera via non possunt, istis ludicris ineptiis tenere volunt oculos multitudinis." Jewel to Martyr.—*Ib.* 30.

important to withstand than images.* Certainly with hundreds of silent pulpits, with the people everywhere dying without the word of God, it would have been unjustifiable to have stood out about vestments. But then Martyr gave the further advice, to keep office and go on preaching, but abstain from administering the Sacraments so long as the things scrupled were retained.†

By the computation of Elizabeth's historian Camden there were but one hundred and eighty-nine of the whole clergy of England who refused the Oath of Supremacy and suffered deprivation. The proportion of dignitaries to the rest was overwhelming. Fourteen bishops, six abbots, twelve deans, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of houses, and fifty prebendaries, far outweighed eighty parish priests.‡ The modern Roman Catholic writers of history have laboured, but not with

* "As for wearing the round cap or the habit out of service, there is no superstition in that, but as for using vestments as sacred in the ministration itself, seeing that they have a resemblance to the Mass, and are mere relics of papism, Bullinger thinks you should not, lest you confirm a scandal by example. But for my part, though I have always opposed such ornaments, yet as I perceived the eminent danger of your deprivation of the office of preaching, and thought it not impossible that this resemblance of the Mass might be abolished, like altars and images, provided that you and others, having got bishoprics, bent all your efforts to that, instead of leaving the road open to others who would defend, foster and maintain these dregs rather than put them away, I was cautious in persuading you to refuse a bishopric rather than submit to use the vestments. However, perceiving that scandals of that kind must be altogether avoided, I have easily yielded to his opinion. But as to altars and images, I absolutely judge, as I have already said in another letter, that you must not by any means officiate where they are preserved."—*Zurich Lett.* 2, Let. xiv.

† "A ministerio sacramentorum tantisper abstinenceas, donec istæ non ferendæ maculæ auferantur."—*Ib.* Let. xi.

‡ They who suffered were bishops and archipapistæ, as Lever calls them. "Qui fuere quondam episcopi et ceteri archipapistæ apud nos, præponentes primatum papæ auctoritati Reginæ privantur omnibus honoribus et stipendiis in Anglia." To Bullinger, July, 1560.—*Zurich Lett.*, p. 50.

great success, to increase a total sum which certainly seems insignificant, if the number of the clergy be accepted as nine thousand four hundred, at which Camden computes it. Lingard remarks that Camden was mistaken in the number of the bishops, and may well be in error as to the rest : * in recent times his observation has been remonstratively repeated : and

* Camden is indeed somewhat open to Lingard's censure. His number of fourteen bishops is curiously reached. First, he says there were fourteen : but he only names twelve, and one of these a dead man, namely, Christopherson of Chichester. Next he says there were three who "left the kingdom of their own accord," Scot, Pate, and Goldwell. Add them to the twelve named, subtract Christopherson, and fourteen remain. It may be noted that Scot, Pate, and Goldwell were the only members of the dethroned hierarchy who got abroad : Goldwell was gone already. It is curious that Baker, in his *Chronicle*, who closely follows Camden, turns "left the kingdom of their own accord" into "changed their religion of their own accord." As to the number fourteen, Mr. Bridgett is a little plaintive that it is not fifteen, as it really was. He says that Stow makes it thirteen or fourteen ; Strype, "with his followers," makes it fourteen ; Heylin makes it fourteen ; even Wharton says it is fourteen, though he only enumerates thirteen. And Rishton, by way of rescuing "these illustrious confessors from oblivion," mentions only twelve of them. "Has any other important fact of history been treated after this fashion by so large a number of writers?"—*Catholic Hierarchy*, p. 33. Well, well. This dreadful "fourteen bishops" appears also in a contemporary *Sincere modest Defence of English Catholics*, quoted by Wharton (*Specimen*, 152) : but this offender makes some amends by adding that there were three bishops-elect deprived. One of these must have been "priest and elected a bishop" Thomas Wood, who was in the Fleet a little later ; Bridgett's *Cath. Hierarchy*, 73. Another was Pursglove, suffragan of Hull. As to Strype, he scarcely deserves Mr. Bridgett's frown, for he makes the number fifteen, only he divides them into two lots : six, whom he wrongly thinks to have been deprived for their conduct in the Westminster disputation ; and ten, from whom he virtually in a marginal note subtracts Morgan, who, he says, was dead. This leaves fifteen, but then he is wrong about Morgan, who was not dead. Collier, however, is an offender : he follows Camden, but is too accurate not to detect his mistake in including the deceased Christopherson : but then, like Camden, he omits Morgan, and so concludes that the whole number of bishops was fourteen. [Since writing the above I have perused the extraordinarily careful and exhaustive chapter of Dr. Gee on the Deprived Clergy. He shows conclusively that the original authority for the number fourteen was Sanders in the *De Visib. Monarchia*, published in 1571. Gee, p. 219.]

it seems that another diocesan is to be added to the fourteen, and the list may be lengthened by two or three other bishops-elect or suffragans. Of the other dignified ecclesiastics, who refused, "an imperfect catalogue" has been furnished by a laborious Roman Catholic, which considerably increases the total given by Camden, and furthermore, by the omissions that it indicates, makes it probable that some other of the superior clergy than those whose names have been preserved refused the Oath.* But this catalogue descends not to the humbler level of the parochs, regarding whom the calculation of the royal historiographer remains unconfuted. All that the catalogue does to multiply the obscure is to put the monks and friars at the back of the abbots and priors. Thus not only Feckenham, but his twenty-eight monks, not only Chauncey the Carthusian prior of Sheen, but his

* Tierney, in his *Dodd*, vol. ii. App. 44, gives "an imperfect catalogue" of deans, archdeacons, and the rest, "who opposed the Reformation in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign." Compare him with Camden thus :—

	<i>Camden</i>		<i>Tierney</i>		<i>Camden</i>		<i>Tierney</i>
Deans	12	...	7	Superiors.....	6	...	6
Archdeacons ...	12	...	10	Doctors and	} .	o	...
Chancellors.....	o	...	7	Professors			
Heads	15	...	25		<hr/>		<hr/>
Fellows,Oxon...	o	...	37		95		182
Prebendaries ...	50	...	35				

Tierney gives them all by name. It will be noted (as before) that there are no Cambridge Fellows. No doubt Tierney's catalogue is also otherwise imperfect. For instance, his Archdeacons have not Carter, Archdeacon of Northumberland, among them; whose deprivation is in the C. C. C. Cambridge MSS., Nasmith, p. 140, and *Ath. Cant.* i. 397. It is to be noted that Tierney did not limit himself to this Visitation. For instance, there is extant a curious list of about a hundred Romanensians who fell into suspicion two years after, and were written down with characteristic remarks.—Strype, i. 275. Half of these are in Tierney: fifty are not, and may augment his catalogue. Among them is Carter, who is "not unlearned, but very stubborn, and to be considered." He was to remain within ten miles of Thirsk.

monks of unknown number, not only Fox the Franciscan Guardian of Greenwich, but his friars also, refused the oath. Upon the whole it may be concluded, as it regards the clergy, that the original reckoning of the number deprived for religion in the beginning of Elizabeth, which makes them about two hundred, is right.*

What became of those of them who were deprived, particularly of the obscurer persons, who suffered the loss of their preferments? We have the less need to ask at present, in this year, because the notion of a large body of priests flung helpless on the world may be dismissed, the deprivations being few on this occasion. But many of them found harbour in the households of gentlemen of the Old Learning, the Romanensian justices and sheriffs, who had been active in the persecution, who favoured the Latin rite: they were suspected of performing in secret the great Service, as of old: and gradually became denominated old priests. These old priests were peaceable old priests: attached to their old ways: not troubled by any close questioning for many years by a government that knew very well how to look away: themselves falling into horrible perturbation when new ways were

* This has now been rendered quite certain by the scientific scrutiny of all the documents by Dr. Gee. He has carefully examined all the originals in the national collections which bear on the subject, and compared the former historical writers. More than that, he has searched the Episcopal Registers throughout England and Wales: so that there is no more to be said. We have all the evidence. I refer the reader to his work. It may be observed that, as he points out, Tierney's list, or "imperfect catalogue," of those "who opposed the Reformation in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign," is ambiguously entitled, and contains men who kept in their places till her twelfth year. Dr. Gee makes "the beginning" to consist of her first six years, to 1564. If it be restricted to the year of this Visitation, then but few of the two hundred were deprived "in the beginning" of her reign. The Visitation was carried out with the greatest desire to conciliate.

opened before them by Rome. Some, who were more resolute in opposition, passed abroad to the foreign universities and seats of learning. Some, who at first resisted, afterwards received the alteration of religion.

As to the diocesan bishops all accounts agree. The Oath, albeit considerably tendered, was refused by all but Kitchin of Llandaff: * and all but Kitchin were deprived. It may be remarked that three of these deprived bishops, Heath, Bonner, Thirlby, along with Kitchin himself, had sworn to the royal supremacy in the reign of Henry : † the rest, White, Bourne, Morgan, Baines, Pate, Turberville, Goldwell, Scot, Watson, Pole, Oglethorpe, were made in Mary's time, and free of such obstruction, though how far bound by their fealties, wherein they renounced all things in Bulls prejudicial to the sovereign of the realm, and on that received back their temporalities, they had to determine. ‡ The seizure of their temporalities followed immediately and not illogically upon their refusal to acknowledge the Queen's supremacy: but they were not put in prison on that account, nor was imprisonment the penalty assigned in the Act for refusing the

* Camden calls Kitchin "the calamity of his see." Sanders says that Kitchin was the only bishop who never sought the Papal confirmation after the reconciliation of the kingdom under Mary; and that therefore he "never was a lawful bishop."—Bridgett, p. 31. [From a Vatican MS.]

† Kitchin at his consecration had sworn in that particularly vigorous Henrician form which may be distinguished as "The Veil-removed Oath." It began: "I, Antony Kitchin, Elect Bishop of Llandaff, having now the veil of darkness, of the usurped Power, authority and jurisdiction of the See and Bishop of Rome clearly taken away from mine eyes, do utterly testify and declare in my heart that neither the See nor the Bishop of Rome, nor any foreign Potentate," &c., &c.—Strype's *Cranmer*, bk. i. ch. 29. Cf. *supra*, p. 116. If Kitchin had a friend in history, it might be pleaded for him that he was consistent.

‡ The express clause about this, introduced into the patents for restoring temporalities after the reconciliation in Mary's time, had been used in the cases of about seven of these bishops. See Vol. IV. p. 487 of this work.

Oath. Five or six of them were in prison already, or confined to bounds, but it was for their contempt at the Disputation. The rest remained at large for some months, or a year or so; and if they then got imprisoned, or put under restraint, it was because they had in some way fallen under the other branch of the statute, which made it imprisonment to maintain a foreign power.* In the meantime they much frequented the Spanish ambassador, De Quadra, Bishop of Aquila, who had replaced the bitter Count de Feria. When they got into prison, their incarceration seems not to have been more severe than it need have been; indeed it may be questioned whether political or religious prisoners have ever been so gently handled.† They

* 1 Eliz. c. 1, § 14. A person maintaining foreign authority forfeited his goods: but if he had not much goods to forfeit he made up by a year's imprisonment.

† Representations have not been wanting to the contrary. Sanders comes first, with his "de gradu et dignitate sua depositi, ac carceribus variisque custodiis commissi, unde omnes hodie longo miseriarum tædio extincti sunt" (p. 268). If by "de gradu" he meant that they were degraded, no such thing was ever imagined against them. In the present day an elaborate effort has been made by Mr. Bridgett, in his *Catholic Hierarchy*, to show that "these victims of Queen Elizabeth's supremacy" suffered a great deal. It is a plaintive book. He is angry with Hook and Perry for referring to the Marian persecution, and saying, "There were no retaliatory burnings." Now I have shown that the common popular tendency to lay the blame of the Marian terror on the bishops is wholly unjust. But still Hook and Perry and others who have drawn the same contrast are not without a foot of right. Mr. Bridgett asks, "Where is the basis of comparison between two things altogether different? The treatment of heretics may have been severe or heartless in the reign of Mary, but what has that to do with the treatment of bishops, who were neither guilty of heresy nor accused of it, nor punished for heartlessness towards heretics, nor deposed for any canonical cause, nor accused of any crime but that of fidelity to what had been honoured in England for a thousand years?" (p. 10). The basis of comparison is this: that in the one case a vast number of persons, who seemed to their adversaries guilty of heresy, but who were not guilty of heresy, were accused of heresy, and scores of them, including five bishops, were burnt alive as heretics: in the other case a number of

were doubtless, however, prepared to have suffered extremity for conscience: they dared something, for they seem to have expected vindictive treatment. Those of them who were already in the Tower or the Fleet awaited mortal execution; and nothing less was anticipated for them by their admirers: but it is not easy to see upon what ground.* They are not to be

persons, who seemed to their adversaries guilty of heresy, but who were not guilty of heresy, were neither accused of heresy, nor burnt alive as heretics. The abominable crime of Rome in treating difference as heresy, in charging heresy upon men who held the primitive rule of faith and the orthodox Fathers and Doctors, was not imitated in this case. As to the particulars of hardship in imprisonment, which Mr. Bridgett has put together, we may look at them in place. They amount not to much.

* The invincible courage of the Romanensian bishops in the face of the imagined danger of death is extolled in the foreign dispatches. "All the Bishops here are determined to die for the faith, and you would be surprised to see how firm and steadfast they have been and are," wrote De Feria as early as March (*Span. Cal.*, p. 39). In April, after White and Watson were sent to the Tower for contempt, he wrote: "They are very steadfast, and determined to die, if necessary" (p. 50). In May, "The Bishops and others who are considered Catholics are as firm as on the first day," and that the Bishop of Ely, who was not much esteemed among them, had honoured himself by his conduct. Indeed Thirlby had made an emphatic speech in the Lords in one of the great debates (I have passed it over), and had declared himself ready to die (pp. 64, 66). The eminent Doctor Story was as resolute, when he was charged with depraving the alteration of religion. "Two doctors of laws, a priest and a layman, were accused of speaking evil of the affairs of the religion: they bravely and prudently answered the Lords of the Council, especially Story the layman, who said: 'You need not interrogate me about these matters. I know better than any of you both the canon laws and the laws of the kingdom: let my accusers appear and prove what I have said, for I certainly said nothing at which you could reasonably take offence: but should her Majesty will otherwise, I do not refuse to die for the Church.'"—*Ven. Cal.*, February 6, p. 26. Nothing but death was supposed possible. The horrible spirit of the times, from the other side, is illustrated in one of these very letters of De Feria. He says that he has decided, in concert with Friar John de Villa Garcia and another Spanish divine, who were with him in London, to try to seize some Spanish heretics and an Antwerp man, who were expected to arrive in England, hold a secret trial of them, and throw them into the river, so dexterously and secretly as to give no cause of complaint to the English.—*Span. Cal.*, p. 39.

denied the praise of constancy: for by a beneficent extension in the Queen's Injunctions of a beneficent clause in the Act, they might, it would seem, at any time have presented themselves to take the Oath, and been thereupon forthwith restored to their dignities in all respects the same as if they had never lost them.* And their deserted sees remained long time unfilled by others. Death however, or flight, soon thinned the insuperable cohort. Goldwell of St. Asaph, a prelate who had not been summoned to the Parliament because he was in the midst of his translation to some other see when Mary died, departed suddenly beyond seas at the end of June, leaving directions that his own goods should be sold to pay the large subsidy which he owed to the Crown.† The venerable Tunstall died in Lambeth Palace in the middle of November, surviving his deprivation about six weeks. He was honourably buried in Lambeth church, Alexander Nowell preaching the funeral sermon, and giving him great

* The Act contained a provision for laymen, who were always better treated than clergy, that any who had obstinately and peremptorily refused the Oath, and afterwards willingly required to take it, should be thereon reinstated in any office that he had forfeited by refusal.—1 Eliz. c. 1, § 13. The Admonition in the Injunctions seems to extend this. "If any person that hath conceived any other sense of the form of the said Oath, shall accept the same Oath with this interpretation (the interpretation given in the Admonition), sense or meaning, her Majesty is well pleased to accept every such in that behalf as her good and obedient subjects, and shall acquit them of all manner of penalties contained in the said Act against such as shall peremptorily or obstinately refuse to take the said Oath." The Admonition refers to those "called to ecclesiastical ministry," and I therefore venture to think that it extended the benefit of the clause of the Act to ecclesiastics.

† Mr. Bridgett has given the letters, from the Domestic series, containing the particulars of Goldwell's departure. They are to his honour. He held a beggared diocese: he owed the Crown £300, and desired his brother to sell his goods to make payment, and to make up any deficiency, promising to repay him. Some attempt seems to have been made to close the ports against him. He went to Rome, and lived long.—*Cath. Hierarchy*, 228.

commendation.* Baines of Lichfield died three days after Tunstall, not imprisoned, buried in St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street. Morgan of St. David's, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, died in the next month, December, not imprisoned; the one near Oxford, the other in London, buried in St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street. White of Winchester died in the next month, January, after three months in the Tower for his conduct at the Westminster disputation, released in July, at liberty, living with his brother-in-law Sir Thomas White in Hampshire, the last six months of his life, buried in his own cathedral church of Winchester.

The end of the dynastic prelate who lived under all the Tudors was attended by some touching circumstances. He came to London, in advanced age a long journey, in July, and took lodgings in Southwark.† His design was to stay the alteration of religion by presenting to the Queen some papers, her father's Will and a treatise on the Holy Communion: but perhaps he sought not, or gained not her presence.‡

* Mr. Bridgett has some rather mean remarks on Tunstall's end. He was consigned to Parker, now at Lambeth, and Parker treated him hospitably to his best ability. "Whether he shared the table of Dr. and Mrs. Parker we do not know. We should like to think he was spared the indignity. But even should a prisoner be summoned to dine with his jailor, he is no guest, but a prisoner still." He seems also to make it a grievance "that such a man as Nowell" should have preached at Tunstall's funeral (p. 59).

† "The xx day of July the good old bishop of Durham came riding to London with four score horse, and so to Southwark unto master Dolman's house, a tallow chandler, and there he lies against the chain gate."—Machyn, 204.

‡ "The bishop of Durham, a very aged and learned man, came up from his diocese solely to tell the Queen what he thought of these affairs. He showed her documents in the handwriting of King Henry against the heresies now received, and especially as regards the Sacraments, and begged her at least to respect the Will of her father if she did not conform to the decrees of the Church: but it was all of no avail." Quadra to Phil. II., Aug. 13.—*Span. Cal.*, p. 89. But the writings were found among

The sight of the devastating Visitation of London, which was going on around him, moved him to offer a protestation against the like in his own diocese, and he sent it to Cecil and also to Parry, and he would have seen the Queen at Hampton Court, but that she was gone thence. "If," said he, "the same Visitation shall proceed in my diocese of Durham to such end as I do plainly see to be set forth here in London, as pulling down of altars, defacing of churches by taking away of the crucifixes, I cannot in my conscience consent to it, being pastor there; because I cannot myself agree to be a sacramentary, nor to have any new doctrine taught in my diocese. Not of malice or contempt, but my conscience will not allow any doctrine in my diocese other than Catholic."* A month later, on Michaelmas Eve, with Tudor meanness, the bishop was deprived, in time to prevent him from receiving the rents that came due on Michaelmas Day.† He was lodged with Parker, by order of Council, at Lambeth: and Parker hoped that he would conform, as it was in his power to do at any time, and remain bishop, and Cecil in no unkind manner encouraged the hope. But Tunstall remained steadfast, and in two months reached the end of a noble, gentle, and holy life.‡

his slender effects after his death. "There is one roll of books which he purposed to deliver to the Queen, which is nothing else but King Henry's Testament, and a book *Contra Communicationem utriusque Speciei*, and such matter."—Parker, *Corresp.* (Nov. 18), p. 106.

* Mr. Bridgett has given this from *Dom. Papers*, vi. 22. There are two copies, to Cecil and to Parry, Aug. 19.

† "The 28 Sept. was Michaelmas Even, the old bishop of Durham was deposed of his bishopric, because he should not receive the rents for that quarter."—Machyn, 214.

‡ Mr. Bridgett has given most of the originals for Tunstall's end, but in a somewhat querulous spirit. It is evident that every effort was made to show him respect. Walter Haddon wrote his epitaph in Latin verse, "of no great merit," Mr. Bridgett says; but of unstinted praise. It is

As all the sees were vacant (save Llandaff, Bath, and Peterborough), they were diligently plundered. The way for this had been prepared after the Tudor fashion by the late Parliament in a private Act giving

in Cooper's *Ath. Cantab.* I may add, as to Tunstall's opinions, that Mr. Bridgett gives the trenchant passages of his correspondence with Pole in Henry's time, in which he declared himself to go entirely with that monarch in rejecting the Pope. It is difficult on reading them to understand on what grounds he refused to comply with the requirements of Elizabeth. As to his moderation in doctrine, Canon Ross Lewin, author of the *Life of Bernard Gilpin*, in an interesting communication, has sent me a passage from his *De Veritate*, published in Mary's reign, in 1554, the year of the reconciliation with Rome (in Paris, it is true), which shows how impossible Tunstall thought it to make Transubstantiation the test of heresy. As the work is almost unknown I will give the passage. "Ab exordio autem nascentis Ecclesiæ nusquam quisquam Catholicus ad baptismum admissus dubitavit de præsentia Christi in Eucharistiæ Sacramento: sed omnes antequam ad lavacri fontem admittebantur, ita edocti, se id credere profitebantur, uti Justinus Martyr in sua Apol. secunda contra Gentes testatur. Cæterum quomodo panis, qui ante consecrationem erat communis, ineffabili Spiritus sanctificatione transiret in Corpus Ejus, veterum doctissimi quique inscrutabile existimaverunt, ne cum Capernaitis non credentes verbis Christi, sed quomodo id fieret quærentes, tentarent supra sobrietatem sapere plusquam oportet. Illis vero satis superque visum est omnipotentiae ac verbis Christi firmiter credere, qui fidelis est in omnibus verbis suis, quique mirabilium suorum operandi modum solus cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto novit. Porro ante Innocentium III Romanum Episcopum, qui in Lateranensi Concilio præsedet, tribus modis id posse fieri curiosius scrutantibus visum est: aliis existimantibus una cum pane, vel in pane, Christi Corpus adesse, velut ignem in ferri massa, quem modum Lutherus secutus videtur: aliis panem in nihilum redigi vel corrumpi: aliis substantiam panis transmutari in substantiam Corporis Christi, quem modum secutus Innocentius reliquos modos in eo Concilio rejecit, quamvis miracula non pauciora, immo vero plura quam in reliquis rejectis ab eo modis, oriri curiosius investigantibus videantur. Sed Dei omnipotentiae, cui nihil est impossibile, miracula cuncta cedere his qui cum Innocentio in eo Concilio interfuerunt visum est, quod is modus maxime cum verbis hisce Christi *Hoc est Corpus meum, hic est Sanguis meus* congruere illis visus est. Nam Johannes Scotus, *Senten.* lib. iv, distinc. 11, quæst. 3, recitando Innocentium ait tres fuisse opiniones: una quod panis manet et tamen cum ipso vere est Corpus Christi: alia quod panis non manet et tamen non convertitur sed desinit esse, vel per annihilationem, vel per resolutionem in materiam vel per corruptionem in aliud: tertia quod panis transubstantiatur in Corpus et vinum in Sanguinem. Quælibet autem istarum voluit istud commune

authority to the Queen to take into her hands the temporal possessions of all vacant bishoprics, and exchange as much of them as she chose for the impropriate parsonages of the late monasteries, and for the tenths, that had been again annexed to the Crown. The hypocritical pretence for this was that it would be a good thing for the parsonages and tenths, though granted to the Crown, to be in the disposition of the clergy, provided that the Crown suffered no loss: and so the bishops were to be compelled to exchange their good lands for decayed chancels, ruinous houses, often burdened with pensions for vicars and curates, and for tenths that were to be collected with trouble from the indigent or reluctant clerical holders.* Against this measure the incorruptible

salvare, quod ibi vere est Corpus Christi, quia istud negare est plane contra fidem. Expresse enim a principio institutionis Eucharistiæ fuit de veritate fidei, quod vere ibi et realiter Corpus Christi continetur. Hactenus Joannes Scotus a Scholasticis ob mirum ingenii acumen Doctoris subtilis nomine insignitus. An satius autem fuisset curiosis omnibus imposuisse silentium, ne scrutarentur modum quo id fieret, cum viæ Domini sint investigabiles, sicut fecerunt prisci illi qui inscrutabilia quærere non tentabant, et facile Deum aliquid efficere posse putabant, cujus nos rationem investigare non possumus—scribit namque Augustinus ad Volusianum dicens, Demus Deum aliquid posse quod nos fateamur investigare non posse: in talibus rebus tota ratio facti est potentia facientis—an vero potius de modo quo id fieret, curiosum quemque suæ relinquere conjecturæ, sicut liberum fuit ante illud Concilium, modo veritatem Corporis et Sanguinis Domini in Eucharistia esse fateretur: quæ fuit ab initio ipsa Ecclesiæ fides?" etc.—*De Verit. Corp. et Sang. in Eucharist.*, p. 46.

* This Act, according to Strype, was not printed among the public Acts of 1 Eliz. It now, in *Statutes of the Realm*, figures as c. 19, and in the Table of Contents is named as 17 in the private Acts, with a reference to c. 19. It originated in the Lords, and was a Court measure: in the Commons there was a minority of ninety against it. Collier regrets that the names of these gentlemen cannot be recovered, adding that if their lives corresponded to their conduct herein, they have a better immortality than human renown. He remarks with keen justice that if such a Bill had been brought against the Queen's wards, all would have seen the wickedness of it. Dodd admires and repeats this. For Strype's account of the Act, able and lucid, see his *Life of Parker*, vol. i. p. 44.

phalanx of York, London, Worcester, Coventry, Exeter, Chester, Carlisle, and the Abbot of Westminster, who had protested in April, were all either dead or gone away, and all the other thrones were void, when now, in September, lay Commissioners were appointed to survey and value the episcopal lands and revenues, and deliver the certificates of them into the Exchequer, while others were nominated to consider what of them the Queen should take, and what parsonages impropriate and tenths she should grant in exchange for them. The incoming bishops-elect, Parker, Cox, Barlow, Scory, Grindal, in a joint memorial represented boldly to her Majesty the shamefulness of this sacrilegious act, and made large offers of annual payments to avert it, but in vain.* The Queen proceeded in the matter, and, as if she had been doing righteousness, affirmed, what was indeed true, that the consecration of the five elect prelates had been delayed because the exchanges between them and her were not yet effected, ordering dispatch to be used.† She allowed, however, the

* The Letter of the Five Elects is in Parker's *Correspondence* (Park. Soc.), p. 97, followed by the Queen's answer. "For the exoneration of the exchange" they offered a thousand marks a year each. If that might not be, they requested under various particulars that reasonable treatment might be shown in the exchanges: such particulars as that vicarages received in exchange for their good manors might be made competent livings for vicars; that the decayed state of chancels and mansions might be allowed for in the exchanges; that pensions payable yearly might be "reprised" or withdrawn from parsonages offered in exchange, &c.

† She wrote as if it had been news to her that these five elects were unconsecrated: "We be informed the state ecclesiastical in the province of Canterbury and the rest of the said dioceses remaineth without government." She orders the exchange to be proceeded withal, "with the rest of the bishoprics that be richly endowed, as York, Winchester, Durham, Bath, Sarum, Norwich, and Worcester," in order that bishops might be elected and put into them with all speed. Thus she thought that she was doing a virtuous action in enforcing the Act at once. But as in these cases "the like exchange" was to be made as in the others, it seems that

memorial to have weight with her in carrying out the unequal bargain with some regard to reason. She bade the Exchequer extend nothing against the bishops contrary to the favourable meaning of the Act of Parliament: not to frustrate the purpose of the Act by assigning to her so much of the temporalities as to make it impossible for them to keep their hospitality: to grant them an equal value in spiritualities for the temporalities received from them: and she allowed them, "as of her reward," a remission of half the whole year's revenue of vacancy, which belonged to her. But still it was a grievous exaction. It was part of a general racking of the kingdom, which was going on to supply an extravagant Court, under the usual pretence of the necessities of the Crown.

Even worse than this was feared or meditated, and the elects added a petition that the bishoprics founded by Henry the Eighth out of the monastic spoil might not be dissolved but continued.* One of them stood forth further than the rest in the piety of the defence of the patrimony of the Church: Cox, once the ravager of Oxford, ventured in more than one private memorial to expostulate with the Queen, and, to his honour, based his remonstrances upon higher considerations than the good and convenience of the realm. Reminding her that he had heard her say that she "was not in fear of death whenever it should please

she meant the same favourable meaning to be put on the Act, and the same reasonable remissions to be made. Eliz. to the Lord Treasurer and Barons of Exchequer, 26 Oct. 1559.—Parker's *Corresp.*, p. 101. As to the diocese of Canterbury, this forced exchange was tempered by regard to equity. She took away temporalities, as manors, sites of priories, lordships, parks, above £1,200 a year. She redeemed the tenths and impropriations and rents about the same annual value or a little more.—*Ib.*, p. 103.

* "That it may please your Highness to continue the new erected sees founded upon great considerations by your noble progenitor King Henry," &c.—*Ib.*, p. 100. Cf. Strype, *Ann.* i. 97.

her Heavenly Father to call her," he told her that "it necessarily followed thereupon that she should walk uprightly in conscience and in the fear of God." Then, in other papers, he laid before her most weighty reasons, from the Scriptures, from former examples, from the public commodity, against taking away the temporalities by exchange.* But the Queen stayed not the course of things. She appointed Commissioners to survey the vacant bishoprics, and to certify their value into the Exchequer. Other Commissioners were appointed, viz. the Lord Treasurer, Sir Richard Sackville, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Keilway a lawyer, to consider what lands should be taken and what equivalents granted.†

The great survey of the kingdom which we have followed, was stayed before the end of the year peremptorily; the active agents of the Queen received her orders "to surcease from any further intermeddling": they dropped their tools, and left their work.‡ At the

* Such a remonstrance is among the things that lift history above itself. Cox wrote three or four papers to the Queen. The first reminded her of her duty to Heaven: the others brought before her the other considerations. Strype gives a full account of these papers, which he has mostly transcribed from the originals in the Petyt Collection.

† This Commission was issued Sept. 13, 1559. It contained that sundry Commissions had already been issued to survey the sees vacant, and certificates had been already returned from some into the Court of Exchequer, and others were expected daily; and that therefore these four persons, or two of them, should consider these certificates, and give their opinion what parcels should be taken, and what impropriations and tenths should be given in exchange, for the Queen's ultimate decision.—Wilkins, iv. 198.

‡ "Whereas upon divers urgent considerations us thereto moving we directed our Commission unto you among others this last summer authorising you thereby to visit and publish certain our Injunctions in the diocese of [left blank]: Whereas we are informed you have done accordingly, we now have thought it convenient to will and require you to surcease from any further intermeddling therein by force of our said commission: and that ye deliver your acts registered, together with the seal of jurisdiction in that behalf used, to our principal secretary, to be further ordered as

same time, however, they were directed to determine all matters arising out of the Visitation that were still pending, and during the next year or two, in the general subsidence, there may be discerned some waves that had the force to break. The Dean of Durham, Horne, found three or four prebendaries who refused the Oath. On his representation they were deprived.* Barlow complained of two "papist prebendaries" of Chichester, and deprived them.† Others of the new bishops discovered obstinacy and disorder in their cathedral bodies: thus, Scory described Hereford as "a very nursery of blasphemy, naughtiness, pride, superstition, and ignorance," that the justices offered impediments to religion, and that some of the deprived of Oxford and Exeter had been received there and feasted in the streets with torch-lights.‡ In Oxford itself serious disturbances arose, when the new Head of Queen's, Doctor Francis, took his place instead of the deprived Hodgson.§

At the same time, when the Ambulatory Visitation was stopped, the Commission of the sitting Commissioners was renewed, in October, by a new writ. The number and the persons were the same, save that

we shall see cause. Reserving nevertheless unto you power and authority to examine and determine all such matters only, and no other, as have been in your progress exhibited for redress of their disorders, determinable by your commission, as be unto you detected, in as ample and large a manner as if our said commission had not been revoked."—*Domest. Pap.* vii. 79 (*Cal.* 145). This paper has on the back of it the list of working Visitors given above. It is undated, but was probably about October or November.

* See above, p. 148. It may be added that all four, Dalton, Marley, Tuttyn, and Salvin, are in Dodd's catalogue.

† *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 150, Feb. 1560. Their names were Stapleton and Godsolve. Both are in Tierney's *Dodd*.

‡ *Ib.* 177, June, 1561.

§ *Ib.* 175, May, 1561. These cases may come here, though they may not all have sprung out of the Visitation.

Cox, now Bishop of Ely, took the place of Sir William Chesters. Parker and Grindal had by this time attained their full position, and the alteration of their style was probably the reason of the new writ, which was in Latin. The quorum was reduced to three, one to be one of the three bishops.* The Commissioners met once or twice more in St. Paul's, before they more consistently made Lambeth their place of meeting. Such was the first formation of the celebrated High Commission, a tribunal which has been reviled with the rarest fury by many leaders of opinion, but of which the original relics and memorials are too scanty to yield a decisive opinion. At least, whatever it may have become afterwards, it seems not to have been a flagrantly tyrannous organ in the first period of Elizabeth. It was not created for nothing: there was need of such a power, if the design of Elizabeth was to be carried out, to make her Church extensive as the nation: and it maintained a severe struggle for that purpose. Under the new Primate it may be believed that the Court was less invidious than it became afterwards; the office of Parker was adorned by his justice, albeit Parker had a warlike heart.† It was,

* Rymer, xv. 546; Gee, 152. It was of October 20.

† "In quo gerendo negotio. Matthæus, ut ordine ac dignitate primus, ita vigilantissimus ac moderatissimus habebatur, ut neque in tam accipiti rerum statu incommodi aliquid accidere posset, quod non præcaveret et anteverteret, neque quemquam de crimine postulatam nominatim læderet, aut verborum vel minarum atroci vehementia durius tractaret, aut æstu unquam aliquo in judiciis ferveret; quin summa temperantia et sedulitate iudiciario ordine servato et crimine per legitimas probationes exquisito pœnam tam delicto quam juri congruam graviter constanterque irrogaret."—*De Antiquit. Brit.*, p. 540. Bishop Stubbs remarks that "it is difficult to understand how, except on a plea of vital necessity, prelates like Parker, Andrewes, or Laud, could have been content to act under such Commissions."—*Eccl. Courts Commis. Report*, App. 50. No doubt this is true. They saw in it the only safeguard against anarchy. The necessity under which they acted was the Romanensian reluctance and the Evangelic

however, from first to last anomalous and invidious. It was a court of first instance, which swallowed up every case that came before it, and from which no appeal ever went. It stood in the way of the High Court of Delegates, older than itself, Henry's erection, the court of first appeal. It was out of connection with the ordinary courts of the Church, always producing new business by its own nature. It increased its powers with the course of time.* It existed for eighty troublous years, when it was extinguished by the hands that raised it.

The lack of ministry through deprivation, destitution, and particularly by reason of the death of many in the sickness of the last year,† was supplied in a measure by an expedient which had but a moderate success. Under the oversight of the bishop and by his letters testimonial, laymen were to be admitted in a church, the curate being absent, to read the service for the day under the name of readers. These readers bore perhaps but a humble resemblance to the ordained lecturers of primitive antiquity, the oldest of the minor orders; but it was from them that the notion of having

propensity: "Cum pontificii insidias assidue meditarentur, alique, Evangelium prætendentes, novas sectas et factiones excitarent."—*De Antiq. Brit. u. s.* [Drake's edition, A.D. 1729].

* Hallam remarks that the Oath *ex Officio*, which perhaps caused more trouble than anything else, was not inserted in any of the High Commissions that were issued, until 1583.—*Const. Hist.* i. 201. It was an oath which a commissioner could require by virtue of his office. Neal violently says that "they entangled their prisoners with oaths *ex officio*, and the inextricable mazes of the popish Canon Law": and appears to speak of their conduct from the beginning.—*Puritans*, i. 110. This is wrong. Faults in the English Reformation lay not commonly in exceeding given powers, but in having powers given that ought not to have been given. For the relations of this court and the other courts, I refer my reader to the admirable work of Bishop Stubbs and Mr. Rothery in the Appendix to *Eccl. Courts Commission*.

† This reason is alleged by Heylin.

them may have arisen. They were to be sober, discreet, and grave laymen; under the survey and visitation of the bishop, removable by certificate upon proof of inability or disorder; not to intermeddle to minister baptism or Holy Communion or marriage, not to preach, but read a Homily, the Prayers, and the Litany.* The need was great: in one diocese two-thirds of the parishes were destitute: another had but two preachers in it: but laymen of sufficiency, willing to undertake the office, were rare: men of rank may have disdained it: and it was found too frequently that the churches were served, in this capacity, by ignorant and illiterate mechanics.† The champions of the deprived clergy presently exulted in the sorry figure made by their humble substitutes,‡ and the retort was

* See Parker's "Order for serving cures now destitute," of this year, Strype's *Parker*, Bk. ii. ch. ii.

† The inconvenience was soon felt, and next year, August, 1560, Parker directed Grindal and the rest of his bishops to be more careful whom they admitted. "Now by experience it was seen that such manner of men, partly by reason of their former profane arts, partly by their light behaviour otherwise, and trade of life, were very offensive unto the people: and unto the wise of this realm they were thought to do a great deal more hurt than good, the Gospel thereby sustaining slander: these (letters) therefore were to desire and require them to be more circumspect in admitting any to the ministry: and only to allow such as having good testimony of their honest conversation, had been traded and exercised in learning, or at the least had spent their time in teaching of children; excluding all others which had been brought up and sustained themselves either by occupation or other kinds of life alienated from learning. So that they might stay from collating such Orders unto so unmeet persons, until such time as in a Convocation they might meet together, and have further conference thereof."—*Ib.* ch. iv.

‡ John Martial, or Marshall, one of the deprived Oxford men, wrote a book (hereafter to be considered) in which he instanced the readers and their shortcomings: to him in his well-known *Answer*, of 1565, Calfhill replies: "They have nothing so rife in their depraving mouths, wherewithal to burden our ministry in England, as heaping together all base occupations, to shew that the craftsmen thereof be our preachers. I wis I might answer, and justify the same, that as great a number of learned as ever were, as ancient in standing and degree as they, supply the

more obvious than effective, that they were no worse than the dicers, taverners, and lacklatins who were

greatest rooms, and places of most credit. Wherefore they do us wrong to match the simplest of our side, with the best of theirs. . . . But to grant that the inferior sort of our ministers were such indeed as these men of spite imagine: such as came from the shops, from the forge, from the wherry, from the loom; should ye not find more sincerity and learning in them than in all the rabble of their popish chaplains, their Mass-mongers, and their soul-priests? I lament that there are not so many good preachers as parishes. I am sorry that some too unskilful be preferred: but I never saw that simple Reader admitted in our Church, but in the time of popery ye should have found in every diocese forty Sir Johns in every respect worse.”—Parker Soc. Edit., p. 51. There was also a set-to between Dorman and Nowell on the point: see Strype, *Ann.* i. 179. Richard Baxter, who was born in 1615, opens his *Life* with this account of the state of things around him in boyhood: “We lived in a country that had but little preaching at all. In the village (near Shrewsbury) where I was born there were four Readers successively in six years’ time, ignorant men and two of them immoral in their lives, who were all my schoolmasters. In the village where my father lived there was a Reader of about eighty years of age, that never preached, and had two churches about twenty miles distant: his eyesight failing him he said Common Prayer without book; but for the reading of the Psalms and Chapters he got a common thresher and day labourer one year, and a tailor another year, for the clerk could not read well: And at last he had a kinsman of his own, the excellentest stageplayer in all the country, and a good gamester and good fellow, that got Orders and supplied one of his places. After him another younger kinsman that could write and read got Orders: and at the same time another neighbour’s son, that had been awhile at school, turned Minister, one who would needs go further than the rest, and ventured to preach (and after got a living in Staffordshire), and when he had been a preacher about twelve or sixteen years, he was fain to give over, it being discovered that his Orders were forged by the first ingenious stageplayer. After him another neighbour’s son took Orders, when he had been awhile an attorney’s clerk and a common drunkard, and tumbled himself into so great poverty that he had no other way to live: It was feared that he and more of them came by their Orders the same way with the forementioned person. These were the schoolmasters of my youth (except two of them) who read Common Prayer on Sunday and Holy Days, and taught school and tumbled on the weekdays, and whipped the boys when they were drunk, so that we changed them very oft. Within a few miles about us were near a dozen more ministers, that were near eighty years old and never preached: poor ignorant Readers, and most of them of scandalous lives: only three or four constant competent preachers lived near us, and those, though conformable all save one, were

plentiful on the other side. These readers went on into the next century.

the common marks of the people's obloquy : and any that went to hear them when he had no preaching at home, was made the derision of the vulgar rabble, under the odious name of a puritan." But it was not the business of a reader to preach.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

A.D. 1559.

THE growing scarcity of bishops, as see after see fell void by death or deprivation, escaped not the apprehension of the Queen and her advisers: during the summer licenses to elect were issued to some of the chapters: the old process of the *congé d'élire*, which had been dropped by Edward the Sixth and restored by Mary, was continued by Elizabeth; and the student might remark in Elizabeth's instruments of appointment a stronger assertion of royal right than obtained in the forms used by her father and his predecessors. To the license which she granted she added the description that it was granted by the founder of the see: and, if the legal doctrine hold good that the bishoprics were anciently donatives of the Crown, she made a plain declaration of English antiquity.* Licenses to elect, according to this new

* As to this piece of history, observe: 1. That the old form of the *Licentia eligendi* or *congé d'élire* used by Henry the Eighth and the kings before him ran thus: "Rex dilectis nobis in Christo Decano et Capitulo Ecclesiæ nostræ Cathedralis (Wigorn.) Salutem. Cum Ecclesia nostra Cathedralis prædicta . . . iam sit Pastoris solatio destituta, nos alium eligendi in Episcopum et Pastorem Licentiam per presentes duximus concedendam. Mandantes quod talem vobis eligatis in Episcopum et Pastorem qui Deo devotus, Ecclesiæ nostræ prædictæ necessarius, nobisque et Regno nostro utilis et fidelis existat." 2. That in the two instances which occurred in the beginning of Edward the Sixth, before the Act of his first Parliament which abolished the *congé d'élire*, this form was retained with the characteristic insertion between *qui* and *Deo* of the

form, were sent in June and July to many of the chapters: among the rest to Hereford, Chichester, and Canterbury: the ceremony followed quickly in these cases: and on the 1st of August Doctor Parker became the elect of Canterbury, while at the same time, perhaps on the same day, Barlow the deprived Bishop of Bath and Wells was elected to Chichester, Scory the deprived of Chichester to Hereford.*

It seems to have been intended to proceed without great delay to Parker's consecration. On the 9th of September letters patent were issued to six bishops, three Romanensian, and three of the other sort, Tunstall, Bourne, and David Pole, Kitchin, Barlow, and Scory, commissioning them to proceed to the

words "Sacrarum literarum cognitione ad id munus aptus." 3. That in Mary's numerous licenses the old form was restored and the addition of Edward was adopted. 4. That in Elizabeth's licenses the old form was considerably altered, and Edward's addition was dropped. The license ran: "Regina dilectis de . . . Salutem. Ex parte vestra Nobis est humiliter supplicatum, ut, cum Ecclesia prædicta . . . jam sit Pastoris solatio destituta, alium vobis eligendi in Episcopum et Pastorem Licentiam Nostram Fundatoriam vobis concedere dignaremur: Nos, precibus vestris in hac parte favorabiliter inclinati, Licentiam illam vobis duximus concedendam: Rogantes quod talem vobis eligatis in Episcopum et Pastorem qui Deo devotus, nobisque et Regno nostro utilis et fidelis existat." This was the prevalent form under Elizabeth: but not the sole form: in four or five cases in her reign the license returns to Mary's form, in one or two the impressive word *fundatoriam* was omitted. And there were other little variations in others.—See Rymer.

* June 5, License to elect to Norwich.—*Ib.* xv. 528.

June 22, Licenses to elect to Hereford, London, and Chichester.—*Ib.* 532.

July 18, Licenses to elect to Canterbury, Ely, Salisbury, and Rochester.—*Ib.* 536-7.

August 1, Election of Parker to Canterbury.—Strype, *Life of Parker*, Bk. ii. ch. i.

August. Election of Barlow and Scory to Chichester and Hereford.—Heylin, pp. 98 and 312, Robertson's Edition.

It was on the occasion of Parker's election that Harpsfield and half the Chapter of Christchurch absented themselves, as related in last chapter. There were other licenses issued, and elections made, later in the year.

confirmation and consecration of the elect, and to do all things requisite therein according to the laws and customs of the realm.* But these first commissional letters took not effect, for the reason that the Queen's transactions in bishoprics, her exchanges of lands and the like, were still in process, and meantime it was found convenient to detain the sees.† A delay

* Strype's *Parker*, Bk. ii. ch. i. (p. 54); Rymer, xv. 541; Bailey's *Defensio Ordin. Angl.*, p. 3; *Cal. Dom.* 138. Strype remarks that he had seen in the Paper Office the first draft of this patent, with the names of bishops left blank, save Cuthbert of Durham, which was inserted in Parker's handwriting.

† It is asserted by the Roman Catholic writers that the first mandate to consecrate failed of effect through the refusal of the three Romanensian prelates, Tunstall, Bourne, and Pole, to be concerned in the business. This is expressed with vigour by Mr. Estcourt. "It is difficult now to understand how any one could expect that a commission would be executed which bore so gross an insult on the face of it. Not merely to require them to consecrate a married priest, notoriously suspected of heresy, but to join with them two suspended, excommunicated ecclesiastics, calling themselves bishops, relapsed heretics, and apostate religious."—*Quest. of Angl. Ord.*, p. 85. Well, well. There is no proof that the six bishops named in the mandate were ever required to execute it, or that any of them refused. Mr. Estcourt indeed allows this. Lingard, who is among those who affirm that Tunstall, Bourne, and Pole, "all three refused to officiate," has no proof to offer. He adds, however, that in consequence of their refusal the Oath of Supremacy was tendered to them, and that this led to their deprivation. It is true, as we have already seen, that these bishops, with the rest of the Romanensians, were deprived soon after this time for refusing the Oath, but there is nothing to connect their refusal of the Oath with this mandate to consecrate Parker. Lingard brings forward a Commission to tender the Oath to one of the three, Bourne, which was issued on Oct. 18. It is curious that a Commission should have been issued for the case of a single bishop, but there is nothing to connect this with any refusal to consecrate Parker.—Lingard, Note H in his *History*. We have already found this Commission interesting for another reason. See last chapter. On the other hand, most Anglican writers admit the story that the three prelates really refused to consecrate Parker. Bailey says that it is certain they did so. Mr. Denny says that the mandate to consecrate was rendered useless by their refusal. Soames more cautiously observes: "Of the failure no reason is certainly known, but it probably arose from an indisposition to the Oath of Supremacy entertained by three of the prelates nominated."—*Reform.* iv. 685. This is like enough. They refused the Oath when it was offered them in the course of things: and

of three months followed, during which the difficulties that had arisen presented themselves to the authorities; the elect himself was consulted as to the mode that should be used: and Parker instructed Cecil that to confirm and consecrate an elect archbishop, an archbishop and two bishops, or else four bishops, were requisite by law.* "There is no archbishop, nor are four bishops to be had," was the annotation of Cecil. "The Order of Consecration set forth in King Edward's Book is to be used," remarked Parker, "since no other order was made in the late Session of Parliament." On which Cecil wrote that Edward's Ordinal had not been established by Parliament.†

after that they were not asked to execute any royal mandate, which is a different thing from being required to execute one and refusing so to do. If they had done the latter, more would be known about it. For the rest, it has been remarked that this Commission to confirm and consecrate contained no clause allowing a quorum of four out of the six bishops named in it: an omission, which, if not careless, was careful. Perhaps, by leading attention to the number four, it gave rise to the story of three refusing, and so rendering the Commission useless, since the three who would have acted were not four. The certainty is that it was convenient to the Queen and her extravagant Court to delay the consecration. This was frankly affirmed by herself in a letter of the next month: "The Archbishop-elect of Canterbury, and the Bishops-elect of London, Ely, Hereford, and Chichester remain unconsecrated by reason that the exchange between the Crown and them for certain temporalities has not been effected."—Oct. 26, *Cal. Dom.*, p. 141.

* Parker was referring to King Henry's statute, which said: "The king's highness by his letters patent under the great seal shall signify the said election to one archbishop and two other bishops, or else to four bishops within this realm, commanding them with all speed to confirm the said election, and to invest and consecrate the said elect person, and give and use to him such pall, benedictions, ceremonies, and all other things requisite, without suing any bulls, briefs or other things at the see of Rome, or by authority thereof in any behalf."—25 H. VIII. c. 20, § 5. This was one of the revived statutes. It does not contain that the consecrating prelates are to be diocesan bishops, or possessed of sees, but bishops "within the realm."

† The Edwardian Ordinal, sanctioned by 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 12, had been abolished by 1 Mary, Sessio 2, c. ii. But though much of that statute of Mary was repealed by 1 Elizabeth, c. 2, yet as to the Ordinal it

Such difficulties were not found to be beyond remedy. A collection of seven bishops was made: to Kitchin, Barlow, and Scory, who had been in the former, the ineffective Commission, were added in a new Commission the venerable Coverdale, former Bishop of Exeter; two suffragans, Hodgkins of Bedford, and Salisbury of Thetford, and the eminent Bale of Ossory: four of whom at least might act.* As to the order and ceremonies to be used, it was directed, with some vagueness, that it was to be "according to the form of the statutes set forth and provided in that behalf."† If no statute had been made by the last Parliament, yet of the mind of the last Parliament there was no doubt. A Bill "for the admitting and consecrating of archbishops and bishops" had gone through the Commons and

was not repealed. It was "only concerning the said Book," the Prayer Book and Order of administering the Sacraments, that it was repealed. Thus Cecil's remark was just: and this was the real position, that no English Order of consecration or ordination had been authorised by Parliament. This has been obscured to general apprehension: and indeed seven years after this time, in 1565, Elizabeth's Parliament attempted to befog it by affirming, in the long preamble of the retrospective statute about consecration which they passed, that Edward's Ordinal was part of his Prayer Book, was "added and put to the said Book," and so included in Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity by which his Prayer Book was again authorised. But in the same retrospective statute they not only confirmed the Prayer Book, but separately confirmed the Ordinal of Edward: which would have been needless if it had been held by them to be included in the Prayer Book.—8 Eliz. c. 1, § 3. See below. As to Parker's paper of directions, on which Cecil annotated, it is fully described by Strype, *Life of Parker*, Bk. i. ch. ix. p. 40. It is wrongly put in the month of July in *Cal. Dom.*, p. 135, as Mr. Estcourt has observed. Mr. Estcourt has presented his readers with a facsimile of it.

* Rymer, xv. 549; Strype's *Parker*, Bk. ii. ch. i. p. 54; Le Courayer, 345.

† "Juxta formam statutorum in ea editorum et provisorum." The piety of Strype has turned this into the singular number, "according to the form of the statute set forth and provided." It was in the singular in Henry the Eighth's Significavit.

been lost in the Lords, as it has been seen, perhaps through the influence of the Marian bishops.* If it happened, through the failure of this Bill, that the statute then actually in force was that of Mary, by which the English Ordinal was abolished, yet little apprehension was felt that the English Ordinal would not be used; and the confidence of Jewel was not misplaced, that the consecration of Parker, and of others after him, would be without the ceremonies which he designated as superstitious and disgusting, the oil, the chrism, and the tonsure.† To confer the legal power, which it was felt that Parliament had left lacking, there was added to the Queen's Commission or Letters Patent, a special clause, not found in any other instrument of the sort ever issued, to supply any defects by her supreme royal authority.‡

* See last chapter.

† "Quod scribis, sperare te episcopos apud nos sine ullis superstitiosis et putidis ceremoniis inaugurari, hoc est, opinor, sine oleo, sine chrismate, sine novacula, nihil falleris. Frustra enim exhausta esset sentina, si istas reliquias pateremur in fundo residere." To Simler, Nov. 2, 1559.—*Zur. Lett.*, p. 29 (Epist. xxii.).

‡ I had better give the reader the whole of the Commission for confirming and consecrating Parker.

"Regina etc. Reverendis in Christo Patribus, Ant. Llandavensi Episcopo; Wm. Barlow quondam Bathon. Episcopo, nunc Cicestrensi Electo; Johan. Scory quondam Cicestrensi Episcopo nunc Herefordensi; Miloni Coverdale quondam Exoniensi Episcopo; Ricardo (mistaken for Joanni) Bedfordensi Episcopo, Johanni Thetfordensi, Episcopis Suffraganeis: Johan. Bale Osserensi Episcopo: Salutem.

"Cum vacante nuper sede Archiepiscopali Cantuariensi per mortem naturalem Domini Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis ultimi et immediati Archiepiscopi et Pastoris ejusdem, ad humilem petitionem Decani et Capituli Ecclesiæ nostræ Cathedralis et Metropolitice Christi Cantuar. eisdem, per Literas nostras Patentes, Licentiam concessimus alium sibi eligendi in Archiepiscopum et Pastorem Sedis prædictæ, ac iidem Decanus et Capitulum vigore et obtentu Licentiæ nostræ prædictæ, dilectum Nobis in Christo Magistrum Mattheum Parker, S.T.P., sibi et Ecclesiæ prædictæ elegerint in Archiepiscopum et Pastorem, prout per Literas suas Patentes, sigillo eorum communi sigillatas, nobis inde directas, plenius liquet et apparet.

"Nos Electionem illam acceptantes eidem Electioni Regium nostrum

This dispensing clause was submitted to the judgment of six doctors of both faculties, who affirmed the legal validity of the Commission "in the form penned."* Accordingly the confirmation of Parker's election took

Assensum adhibuimus, pariter et favorem ; et hoc vobis tenore Præsentium significamus :

"Rogantes, ac in fide et dilectione, quibus Nobis tenemini, firmiter præcipiendo mandantes, quatenus vos, aut ad minus quatuor vestrum, eundem Matt. Parker in Archiepiscopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ Cathedralis et Metropoliticæ Christi Cantuar. prædictæ sic, ut præfertur, Electum, Electionemque prædictam confirmare, et eundem Magistrum Matt. Parker in Archiepiscopum et Pastorem Ecclesiæ prædictæ consecrare, ceteraque omnia et singula peragere, quæ vestro in hac parte incumbunt officio pastorali, juxta formam Statutorum in ea parte editorum et provisorum velitis cum effectu :

"Supplentes nihilominus, suprema Auctoritate nostra Regia, ex mero motu ac certa scientia nostris, si quid aut in his quæ juxta Mandatum nostrum prædictum per vos fient, aut in vobis aut vestrum aliquo, Conditione, Statu, Facultate vestris ad præmissa perficienda, desit aut deerit eorum, quæ per Statuta hujus Regni, aut per Leges Ecclesiasticas, in hac parte requiruntur aut necessaria sunt, Temporis ratione et Rerum necessitate id postulante.

"In cujus rei etc. Teste Regina ap. Westm. vi Die Decembris."

The last clause, the Supplentes clause, is not in the Significavit for Worcester, Hereford, Asaph, Bangor, or Ely ; which were all issued later in the same month. It is not in any Significavit at all except Parker's. Strype is wrong altogether in saying that it was "inserted into all the Queen's letters patent for making her bishops for the first seven years of her reign, *ad majorem cautelam*," until the Act 8 Eliz. c. 1 of 1565, which declared the legality and sufficiency of all that had been done by her in this behalf from the beginning.—Parker, Bk. ii. ch. i. p. 55. He may have been misled by some ambiguous expressions in that retrospective Act itself. The possibility of defect in legality was stopped once for all by applying this Supplentes clause, *ad majorem cautelam*, to Parker's consecration, which was the cradle of all following consecrations.

* "We, whose names be hereunder subscribed, think in our judgments, that by this Commission in the form penned, as well the Queen's Majesty may lawfully authorise the persons within named to the effect specified, as the said persons may exercise the act of confirming and consecrating, in the same to them committed.

William May
Robert Weston
Edward Leeds

Henry Harvey
Thomas Yale
Nicolas Bullingham."

Strype says they were all civilians : Bailey that they were of both faculties.

place by proxy* in Bow church on December 9 : and, on Sunday, December 17, he was consecrated in Lambeth chapel, the officiants being Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins. In his consecration the English Ordinal of Edward the Sixth was followed: but the comparative freedom in which the consecrating prelates found themselves left, or their anxious caution to be effective, was marked in this, that not only their chief Barlow, but all of them, rehearsed the words of consecration which accompanied the imposition of hands.

The consecration of Parker was an event of considerable moment. It affirmed in an important branch the general doctrine of the independence of the Church and realm: that within the realm was contained everything to confer the highest ecclesiastical degree. This great principle may be discerned in one circumstance, partly accidental, which has perhaps escaped the observation of those who have examined the subject. Parker was the first archbishop of England who was consecrated without the pall. The gift of the pall was, as it is well known, the sign of the Papal approbation, to be sought and obtained from Rome only. Cranmer himself, who was consecrated on the verge of the abolition of the Roman jurisdiction, had received the pall. So necessary was this ornament come to be deemed, that when the Roman jurisdiction was abolished, in one of the great statutes of Henry that abolished it, provision was made for palls to be had and used in any consecration without suing to Rome.† And when it fell to the lot of Cranmer to

* May and Bullingham were his proxies.

† "Every archbishop and bishop to whose hands any presentment and nomination (to a vacant archbishopric or bishopric) shall be directed, shall with all speed and celerity invest and consecrate the person nominate and presented by the king's highness to the office and

consecrate an archbishop, he encircled him in a pall,* in strict obedience to the statute of Henry; thereby challenging Canterbury to be a source of ecclesiastic honour equal to Rome. But in the case of Parker, though he was consecrated under the statute of Henry, revived by Elizabeth, there was no gift of the pall: there was no mention of the pall: there was no reference to the statute concerning it. The lamb-wool was perceived to be not of the essence of the appointment of metropolitans; and the necessity was silently denied of maintaining a homely counterpart of the ultramontane ceremony.

It was to be expected that such proceedings should be viewed with hostility by the deprived Romanensians, the learned flight, who from their new settlements beyond the seas began anon to hurl books as stones on their victorious adversaries: Marshall, Harps-

dignity that such person shall be so presented unto, and shall give and use to him pall, and all other benefactions, ceremonies, and things requisite for the same, without suing, procuring, or obtaining hereafter any bulls or other things at the See of Rome, for any such office or dignity in any behalf."—25 H. VIII. c. 20, § 4.

* When George Browne was made Archbishop of Dublin in 1536, Cranmer and the other bishops who consecrated gave him a pall. The piety of Strype mistakenly omitted this circumstance, though he gives a particular account of the consecration in his *Life of Cranmer*: and no writer has observed it since. The entry in Cranmer's Register is as follows: "Die Dominica 19 die Mensis Martii secundum cursum et computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ 1535, in capella manerii reverendissimi in Christo Patris et Domini D. Thomæ permissione Divina Cantuar. Archiepiscopi, . . . de Lambeth dictus reverendissimus ac reverendi patres Nic. Sarum et Johannes Roffens. episcopi . . . impendebat (*sic*) munus consecrationis venerabili et religioso viro Geo. Browne . . . ac deinde iidem . . . reverendi patres tradiderunt ei pallium sive insignium archiepiscopale" (fol. 186 b). This was the only consecration of a metropolitan that had fallen hitherto into the hands of the reforming part: when Holgate went to York in 1545, it was a case of translation. He probably had no pall. The other instances of the age, Curwen to Dublin, and Pole to Canterbury, were of course of the other side: Heath to York was a translation, but his pall was sent from Rome. See Vol. IV. p. 387 of this work, and cf. p. 460.

field, Stapleton, Dorman, Harding, or Sanders. In their anger these early controversialists often used expressions which have been misunderstood, and are deceptive without the key of the real meaning. They exclaimed that the new bishops had not been ordained by bishops, that they had been ordained without imposition of hands, only by the letters patent of the Queen, by a ridiculous ordination. By such expressions they only meant one thing: it was their way of objecting the real point at issue, which was that in these ordinations or consecrations, Rome was set at nought. Rome has ever had her grasp on hierarchs. Before the Reformation broke, her haughty assumption had grown to be that consecration made no bishop unless he were also pronounced at Rome. At the outset of the Reformation, among his dying expostulations with the spirit of his age, the venerable Archbishop Warham solemnly protested that "a man is not made bishop by consecration, but is pronounced so at Rome in consistory: and he has no jurisdiction given him by consecration, but only the rights of his order, namely, consecrating of children, et cætera."* Here was the meaning of the

* This occurs in the remarkable draft of a speech apparently intended to have been delivered in the House of Lords by Warham shortly before his death, in which he argues that in having consecrated a bishop before showing his bulls to the King he meant nothing prejudicial to the King. The bishop was St. Asaph: Warham seems to have been threatened with a *præmunire* about it. He pleads that in consecrating the bishop he acted as the Pope's commissary.—Gairdner's *Lett. and Pap. of H. VIII.*, vol. v. p. 541. He seems to have meant to express the ultramontane theory about Order and Jurisdiction: of which we shall see more in discussing this controversy. Such opinions were far from being universal in his age and before it. A few months after his death, in May, 1533, Dr. Fox said to the ambassador Chapuys that "to dispute the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury would be against the laws, which neither the King nor the realm would tolerate, even under the presentation of briefs or bulls from the Pope, who, to speak frankly, had no

apparently incoherent exclamations of the Romanensian writers: in their style it was the same thing to say that the new bishops had not been consecrated at all, or not truly, as that they had been consecrated without the bulls and mission of the Pope.* The keen antagonist who entered the field against them, was not deceived: "The matter that lieth between us," said Jewel to Harding, "is this: whether, through the whole Church of Christ, no man may be allowed for bishop without the confirmation of the Pope."† It is to be observed that these contemporaneous writers, on the one side or the other, knew nothing of the ludicrous assertions about Parker's consecration, which arose in the next generation.

As the real point in dispute was whether any consecration was allowable without the Papal confirmation, a point absolutely affirmed on the one, and on the other side absolutely denied, it is evident that controversy on any other issue would be irrelevant or delusive. But it was not inconvenient to the Papal

authority or jurisdiction here either over temporality or spirituality."—Gairdner, vol. vi. p. 209. The Romanensian party and the independent party existed in the Church of England before the Reformation.

* "Stapleton says in many places that those bishops had not been ordained by other bishops; that they had been ordained without imposition of hands: that they had been made bishops only by the Letters Patent of the Queen: and lastly, that being made bishops in the beginning by the sole authority of the prince, they had afterwards made use of a ridiculous ordination. In the system of Stapleton and others nothing can be more easy than to explain all those expressions; and one that is used to their style can be no longer mistaken about them. In the style of Harding, Stapleton, Bristow, and the other orthodox writers, not to be truly ordained, or to be ordained out of the Church, or by bishops who are not Catholic, and according to a ritual different from that of the Catholic Church, or without the Mission and Bulls of the Pope, are absolutely synonymous terms."—Courayer, *Defence of Dissertations*, i. 203. Cf. Denny's *Anglican Orders*, 177.

† Defence of the Apology, *Jewel's Works*, Portion iii. p. 330, Parker Soc.

part to screen the vastness of their assumption by opening other issues; to attack the consecrations of Parker and the others in themselves as performances, and to inveigh against the persons: and upon these grounds, it is too well known, there has arisen the longest and on the whole the most humiliating controversy that has ever been waged, a controversy of three hundred years, not ended, nor like to end. It is necessary to survey this controversy in some manner, with a sigh whether of resignation or of impatience. Gratitude and admiration cannot indeed be denied to the English churchmen who have with vast labour and research demolished the charges invented against Anglican Orders by the modern Roman Catholics from the first formation of their body. But they have not awakened candour: they could not work conviction, when the real position was masked: they have but caused an implacable enemy to take new ground, and build new walls behind those from which he has been driven. Their work was necessary in the circumstances; and it has been well done. But they have not been careful enough to tell their adversaries that they were aware throughout of the uselessness of the whole engagement, save as mere matter of historical investigation; and that they knew that even when they were pushed out of the field, reduced to give up every objection, and had no more to say, they would never acknowledge the validity of English Orders. The defensive posture which has been taken in this controversy is to be regretted, though it may have been unavoidable. It is the other side that ought to be on their defence, to justify their extraordinary desertion of antiquity and history. They should have been made to understand from the first that if English

churchmen vindicate their independence, it is only for the sake of argument.

It is degrading to enter the lists with men who hold the Nag's Head; the earliest of the absurdities which have obscured the real issue: the story that Parker was not consecrated in Lambeth chapel, but in a tavern, and that the consecration was a mockery or travesty. This fable, which would make Elizabeth and her statesmen perfect fools, and her ecclesiastics a pack of blasphemous mountebanks, sprang up nearly fifty years after the event, when Elizabeth and all others concerned were dead.* It was received with

* The Nag's Head first appeared in 1604, in Holywood's *De Investiganda Vera ac Visib. Christi Eccles.*, cap. iv. p. 17, which was printed at Antwerp. The story is said to have rested on the authority of one Neal, who had been sometime chaplain to Bonner. It was, that Kitchin (who was appointed in the second Commission about Parker as well as in the first) was about to consecrate when he was required by Bonner not to give orders in London diocese, and thereupon refused to proceed: on which, the bishops elect being met in the Nag's Head in Cheapside, Neal peeped through a hole in the door, and saw them in great disorder, till Scory bade them all kneel down, laid a Bible on their heads or shoulders, and said, "Take thou authority to preach the word of God sincerely"; and so they rose up bishops. The story was repeated by Doctor Champney, in his *Vocation of Bishops*, Douay, 1616, p. 195. He said that he himself had it from one Bluet, "a grave, learned, and judicious priest," who had it from Neal; and that Neal was the man whom Bonner sent to inhibit Kitchin: and that Bluet had other means of information, having been long a prisoner in Wisbech Castle, where Bishop Watson, Feckenham, and other of the deprived Romanensians were confined at one time, men "in whose time and in whose sight, as a man may say, this matter was done." See Tierney's *Dodd*, vol. ii. App. 42. It might possibly be worth while, if there were any doubt, to remind the reader that Heylin adduces another aged contemporary witness, in opposition to the grave and judicious Neal and Bluet: that in 1616, when Nag's Head had got abroad, Admiral Howard protested that he had seen Parker consecrated in Lambeth chapel, having been particularly invited to be present as one of Parker's relatives. This is given by Mason with some humour. The nobilissimus Archithalassius is interrogated by a friend whether he had been invited to grace the solemnity of Parker's consecration: "Respondit se quidem impense rogatum ac invitatum." And where were you asked to? the Nag's

gratification: it long went current without suspicion among the Roman Catholics, though confuted by Anglican writers: and it was a severe blow to the ordinary Romanist when their most learned historian rejected it.* It still flourishes in their lower world,

Head? "Quo tandem? ad caput Manni?" What a question! "Minime gentium, sed ad Palatium Lambethanum," &c.—*De Minist. Anglic.*, p. 339. As to Neal, who was professor of Hebrew in Oxford, and Rector of Thenford, it may be added that no writing of his concerning Nag's Head has ever been produced, and that it was fourteen years after his death that he was said to have said what he was said to have said about it.—Denny, 26.

* *Nag's Head.* Lingard rejected Nag's Head in his *History*, see Note (C) at end of his Elizabeth. In consequence he was involved in a correspondence, in the course of which he remarked, "I have travelled . . . through the *Confutation* and the *Detection* of Harding, the *Counterblast* and *Promptuarium Catholicum* of Stapleton, the *Motives* of Bristow, and the *History* of Sanders: and I affirm without the fear of contradiction from those who have done as much, that not one of these writers has ever alluded to the supposed consecration at the Nag's Head."—*Birmingham Catholic Magazine*, vol. v. p. 778: quoted in Denny's *Angl. Orders*, 24. These were the contemporary Romanensian writers, the men who went out in Elizabeth's first year: and some others might be added, as Marshall and Dorman, who are as silent as they. Now these early Romanensians are entirely to be distinguished from their successors of the next generation, among whom Nag's Head first appeared. The difficulty created by their silence is too great to be overcome: but Le Quien and another foreign antagonist of Courayer have invented reasons why Sanders may have known of it, but omitted the relation. A fine way of arguing truly! [See T. Browne's *Story of the Ordination*, etc., whose neglected work is the best former contribution to the controversy. From it I take much that here follows.] 1. As I have said above, Holywood, or Sacrobosco, whose work was published at Antwerp in 1603, was the first who related Nag's Head. It is remarkable that in the same year Peter à Cudsden, of Wesel, a Roman who had been a Protestant, took his journey into England to inform himself of the state of the Church and the Universities: a few years after which he published a treatise *De desperata Calvinii causa*. So far from knowing anything of Nag's Head or any other defect in English Orders, he says that the English had "Catholicum in perpetuâ Episcoporum suorum serie legitimâque Pastorum successione ab Ecclesia acceptâ Ordinem," adding "ob cujus honorem Anglos Calvinistas mitiore vocabulo non hereticos sed schismaticos appellare solemus."—Mason, p. 14. On account of the validity of Orders he argues that the "Calviniana secta

though not maintained by their educated writers; and, as in many cases where the question is whether a thing

in Anglia" might suddenly be changed to Romanism.—Browne, p. 72. In the same year, 1603, it is again remarkable, Kellison published his *Survey of the New Religion*: and, although the fourth book of that work is on the want of a ministry in England, yet he has nothing about Nag's Head. [This work, it may be remarked, must have been well known in the reign next after Elizabeth. It is dedicated "To the most high and mighty prince, James the First, &c., Defender of the Faith," and has a long Preface beginning "You will marvel peradventure, most dread Sovereign."] The reader may wish to see Holywood's Nag's Head, the first published one. "Principio regni Elizabethæ creandi erant episcopi sectarii: candidati convenerunt in quodam hospitio plateæ Anglice dictæ Cheapside, ad insigne Capitis Manni, et unâ ordines collaturus Landaffensis Episcopus, homo senex et simplex. Quod ut intellexit Bonnerus, tunc Decanus Episcoporum in Anglia, misit e turri Londinensi (ubi religionis causa detinebatur) capellanum suum, qui Landaffensi proposita excommunicationis pœna prohiberet novos candidatos ordinare. Ea autem denuntiatione terribus Landaffensis pedem retulit, multiplicique tergiversatione usus sacrilegam vitavit ordinationem. Hic furere candidati, Landaffensem condemnare, nova quærere consilia. Quid plura? Scoræus, monachus, post Herefordensis pseudepiscopus, cæteris, ex cæteris quidam Scoræo, manus imponunt: fiuntque sine patre filii, et pater a filiis procreatur: res sæculis omnibus inaudita. Hæc D. Thos. Neal, Hebraicus Oxoniæ lector, qui interfuit antiquis confessoribus, illi mihi narrarunt: et fidem astruit, quod in Comitibus postea sancitum fuit, ut pro legitimis episcopis haberentur Parlamentarii isti. Item, quod supramemoratus Bonnerus, episcopus Londinensis, statuta comitiorum Elisabethæ flocci, dum viveret, semper fecit, allegans defuisse episcopos, sine quorum consensu per jura regni nulla sit valida constitutio," cap. iv. p. 42, 2nd ed. (Antw.), 1619. 2. Whence got Holywood Nag's Head: what was the germ of it? One Constable, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, wrote, or is said to have written, a manuscript, which was not published by him, and has never seen the light. This was perhaps Holywood's source, as it was of the rest who followed him in Nag's Head. One of them, Fitzsimon, in his *Britannomachia*, refers to this manuscript in the margin, and says that Stow the chronicler knew of it, but was afraid to print it. "Quod etiam J. Stous, Chronologista, subinde agnovit, propalare tamen in suis Annalibus, ne forte e synagoga ejiceretur, non est ausus" (p. 320). Another of them, Champney, describes Constable as "a person of great parts, judgement, and penetration, and one that would not be moved by light conjectures." 3. In 1612 Parsons' *Discussion* was printed: Discussion of Bishop Barlow's *Answer to a Nameless Catholic*. Parsons himself knows nothing of Nag's Head: but by this time it was beginning to get about: and the unknown writer of the Preface of Parsons' book gives a ludicrously imperfect

happened or not, and no middle line can be taken, there are weak men who give it up without giving it up,

version of it. 4. It was not Holywood who first referred to Constable's manuscript as the source of Nag's Head: it was Fitzsimon, in his *Britannomachia Ministrorum*, Douay, 1614, as above said. The reader may wish to see Fitzsimon's Nag's Head. "Ipsi inter se candidati in taberna ad Caput Mannuli seu Equi in Cheapsid. platea Londini præcipua conveniunt anno 1559. Non fuit quærendum templum, tali taberna magis idoneum Reformatæ ordinationi, quæ ventri et ingluviei patefactura erat arbitrarium aditum, et omnia jejuniorum jura paulo post violatura. Nihil itaque ad reverentiam solemne, nihil ceremoniale ad pietatem, nihil mysticum ad representationem in hac ordinatione expectemus: cum symposiaca sit mentium in ancipiti consultatione quid faciendum esset, quidve omittendum (res enim nova peragebatur in infantia Reformatæ Ecclesiæ) turbatarum confusio. Libuit tamen epitasin comedię aggredi; et tandem cæptum opus tumultuario transcurso absolvere. Ex omnibus igitur Joannem Scorium, apostatam religiosum, deligunt, ut a votifrago, seu digno totius stemmatis protogene, auspicatior esset exvotata consecratio. Narrat Junius (Eccl. 2, 6, 4, sed reformatâ fide) impositionem in Ecclesia manuum nihil aliud olim fuisse quam familiarem dextræ in dextram, amicitie ergo, injectionem. Ad hanc sententiam respiciens Scorius jubet omnes procumbere in genua: deinde Parkeri prensa manu ait, Eia Domine Episcopo Cantuariensis, surge! Iterum pari modo Grindallo, Eia Domine Episcopo Londinensis, surge! Itidem Horno, Eia Domine Episcopo Wintoniensis, surge! Dein Sandesio, Eia, Domine Episcopo Worcestrensis, surge! et sic de ceteris" (p. 320). The historical student will remark, not without surprise, how many patients were included in an operation which he thought to have been undergone by Parker alone, in which the operator was, though he thought it was Barlow not Scory, Scory not Barlow. Browne says as to what Fitzsimon says of the opinion of Junius on imposition of hands that Fitzsimon "fathers a lie on Junius" (p. 90). 5. Waddesworth, a friend of Bishops Hall and Bedell, who went over to the Church of Rome and was employed in Spain, wrote thence from 1615 some letters which Bedell published with his own answers. He gives a version of Nag's Head, according to which there was an attempted consecration there with only one consecrating bishop, followed by the consecration in Lambeth: at which latter there were only three consecrating bishops, not four. "It is certain that at the Nag's Head in Cheapside, where consecration of your first bishops was attempted, but not effected, there was but one bishop: and I am sure there was such a matter. And although I know and have seen the Records themselves, that afterwards there was a consecration of Dr. Parker at Lambeth, and three bishops named, viz. Miles Coverdale of Exeter, one Hodgkins, suffragan of Bedford, and another whose name I have forgotten, yet it is very doubtful that Coverdale being made Bishop of Exeter, in King Edward's time, when all Councils and Church canons were little

and think that after all there is something in it, when in truth there must be either everything in it or nothing.* And if the real issue may ever need to

observed, he was never himself canonically consecrated : and so, if he were no canonical bishop, he could not make another canonical," &c.—*Copies of Certain Letters*, pp. 12, 13, ed. 1624. This variation is curious.

6. Kellison published in Latin his Survey of the New Religion, under the title *Examen Novæ Religionis*, Douay, 1616. By this time he knows of Nag's Head, through Parsons' Prefacer whom he follows. His Nag's Head is full of inconsistency. 7. Doctor Champney, in the same place and year, Douay, 1616, published his *De Vocatione Ministrorum*; and groomed Nag's Head with veterinary skill. "Champney at last takes upon him to give an account of it somewhat more like a scholar and a divine, and makes them perform the office with a little solemnity, such as the haste they were in would admit of. The Doctor of the Sorbonne did not think it decent for him to make a play of it : or with Fitzsimon, Up, rise bishop ! with the Calvinistical giving of the right hand of fellowship : but rather makes the consecrator have some regard to the ceremony in the Roman Pontifical, and the Canon of the Council of Carthage. Accordingly he makes the matter to be Scory's laying the Bible on each of their heads and shoulders, and the form to be, suitably to the matter, giving them authority to preach the word of God sincerely. So it is plain he sets aside the ceremonial of Parsons' Prefacer and Fitzsimon : but for what reason, after he has followed Sacrobosco all along before, he leaves him in that where he seems to speak of the matter of the ordination, I can give no account but that it was his pleasure."—Browne, 90. Champney in fact kept Nag's Head, but not in its former wildness : but with trappings taken from the real ceremonial of Parker's consecration, assigning a form and matter which was at once based on what was done therein, and was as near as he could make it to the Roman porrection of instruments. Champney, like Kellison, says that Constable gave the narrative of Nag's Head to Stow, that Stow used to tell it to Catholics of whom some were yet alive, though he feared to put it in his *Annals* : and that there were Catholics of good repute who were eyewitnesses of the scene in the tavern.—Browne, pp. 7, 8. 8. The inherent absurdity, the lack of possible motive for such a performance as Nag's Head still remaining, despite the suggestion of blasphemous levity, it has been abstrusely propounded in modern times that the consecrators of Parker were afraid of doing it in a church because the English Service had not been legalised by Parliament. See an anonymous tract called *Anglican Orders*, 1873, written on Estcourt's book, whom the writer charges with giving up too much.

* For instance, look at Mr. Bridgett's *Cath. Hierarchy*, p. 31. He quotes a Vatican MS. by Sanders, to the effect that it was doubtful whether Kitchin were to be taken for a bishop, because he alone sought

be concealed again by the Nag's Head, the Nag's Head may chance to be brought out again even by the more reputable writers of the party.

If Nag's Head could have stood, there would have been no need of unconsecrated Barlow. But, as Nag's Head could not stand, unconsecrated Barlow was the next allegation brought against Parker's consecration. Barlow, indeed, was not in Nag's Head at all: and those who held by Nag's Head had no need to consider Barlow in any way. But as he was found to be in the Queen's Commission for consecrating Parker, and it was he unquestionably who consecrated Parker, it became necessary to consider him; and not him only, but also the rest of the prelates who were with him in actually executing the Queen's Commission. The next great allegation therefore of the Roman writers has been that even though Parker was consecrated in a decent place and manner, yet that all was not right with Parker's consecrators: that one of them had never been consecrated himself, that the rest had some defect or another. It would have made no

not Papal confirmation when the kingdom was reconciled under Mary; that it was no wonder if he consecrated bishops outside the Church: and that he never was a lawful bishop. This merely contains the Papal position that no one was a bishop without the Papal confirmation, coupled with an error of fact, that Kitchin consecrated Parker. Mr. Bridgett's remark on it is, "This clause is very strange. No author, Catholic or Protestant, now asserts that Kitchin took part in the consecration of Parker, or of any other member of Elizabeth's hierarchy. Yet the rumour had reached Sanders that he had done so. The well-known story of the Nag's Head consecration, derived from the prisoners at Wisbech, has two parts: (1) that Kitchin was about to consecrate, when deterred by the threats of Bonner; (2) that Scory thereupon carried out some mock consecration. Sanders' assertion in the text certainly lends some support to the first half of the story." It may be worth notice that of the other chief Roman Catholic historical writers (besides Lingard) Dodd seems to believe Nag's Head, while his editor, Tierney, "owns that after a careful perusal of all that has been written on the subject he is compelled to adopt the opposite opinion."

difference if all had been right with them beyond cavil : English Orders would not be allowed the more for that. But what has been alleged against Parker's consecrators has led to dismal labours. It is lamentable to see men of learning spend endless pains to prove that Letters Patent of the Crown cannot easily be forged, or that the Lambeth Registers were never tampered with, merely because such things have seemed credible to men whose principles have uprooted literary and historic common sense from their minds. And yet Mason, Courayer, Bramhall, Haddan, Bailey, and others have sweated therein. It is lamentable to see the monument of Barlow, the piles of his vindication to be a bishop. For against Barlow, the chief officiant in Parker's consecration, the most serious part of the allegation is made : that he himself was no bishop, having never been consecrated. This has been gravely maintained, although when he consecrated Parker, Barlow had been reputed a bishop for a quarter of a century, and had sat on several sees. If he were not consecrated, it would make Henry the Eighth, in whose time he came to occupy bishoprics, as great a fool as Elizabeth would have been, if Parker had not been consecrated. Henry's whole position was that consecration within his realm entirely performed by his spirituality was as good as consecration with the Papal confirmation.* To have let a man

* In the very year that Barlow attained episcopal rank, 1536, which was the year of the Pilgrimage of Grace, this point, consecration, was brought forward in the Doncaster Articles of the Pilgrims of Grace : That "the power of the Supreme Head, touching *cura animarum* and the consecrations of bishops, should be reserved to the See of Rome, as before."—See Vol. I. p. 462 *huj. op.* ; Froude, iii. 157 ; Gairdner's *Lett. and Pap.* xi. 507. They required Henry to give up the claim that he could have consecrations as valid without the Pope as with him. Is it not too absurd to suppose that, while making this claim, he should have allowed a man to take a bishopric without any consecration at all ?

take a bishopric without being consecrated would have given his case to his enemies, and made him the ridicule of Europe. As it might be expected, the touchstone of date is sufficient to dissolve this foolish allegation. It was unknown to contemporaries: it is a little later than Nag's Head; it is first found in Champney, the second or third of the writers who started Nag's Head.* Nevertheless it has been put forward so persistently, and rebutted with such patient toil, that it is but respectful to look a little at the arguments about it. The reason, then, of this allegation is that there is no record of Barlow's consecration to be found along with the rest of the documents concerning his appointment in Cranmer's Register. A critic in the fine arts would not be heard who argued that an antique statue had never had the limb that it lacked when it was exhumed; or that it was not a statue because it lacked a limb. But when with vast labour the insignificance of the objection against Barlow has been shown: when it has been proved that the same lack would be fatal to the claims of many undoubted bishops of that age,† it is answered

* Champney's *Treatise of the Vocation of Bishops and other Ecclesiastical Ministers*, cap. xiv.: "That M. Parker, bearing some time the name of Archbishop of Canterbury, was not true and lawful bishop. Barlow was never consecrated bishop himself, as appeareth by that his consecration is nowhere registered, and therefore is he no more to be numbered in the rank of Bishops, than they were in the number of priests, who could not find themselves recorded in their lineage" (*l. c.* p. 191). Champney's version of the Nag's Head fable is given on p. 194 of the same work.

† There are no records in existence of the consecrations of Rugg of Norwich, Stokesley of London, White of Lincoln and Winchester, Goldwell of St. Asaph, Griffith of Rochester, Pate of Worcester.—See R. Hart's *Apostolical Success. of the Engl. Clergy*. Of Cranmer's Register in particular, besides Barlow, there are four other bishops whose consecrations are not recorded in it, though their confirmations are; viz. Fox of Hereford, Sampson of Chichester, Skipp of Hereford, and Day of Chichester. See Bp. J. Wordsworth's *Trois Lettres sur la Position de l'Eglise Angli-*

that it is not merely the loss of a single written document, but that none of the other documents about him in the Register make mention of his consecration. When it is shown by comparison of other such documents that neither is it to be necessarily expected that they should,* it is answered that it is not merely the loss or the silence of documents, but that there are other peculiarities about the documents concerning Barlow that are suspicious : for that in one or two he is called a bishop at a time when he was certainly not consecrated, and he may have gone on being called a bishop and not being consecrated to the end of his life : that in another of these documents there is an odd expression about his removal from one of his sees : and that, after he had consecrated Parker, he was ordered in another to be consecrated himself, a clear proof that he had not been consecrated before. A. Frenchman, whose historical judgment in other fields has been acknowledged, lent himself to advanc-

cane, 2nd Let. Of these, Fox's consecration has been found at Hereford. Some of the other omissions above given touch the Registers of Warham and of Pole. [But see Bp. Stubbs' *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, 1897.]

* One of the modern Roman champions in this field, Mr. Breen, says : "We have the usual documents about his *nomination*, viz. his election, the Royal Assent, his confirmation, his certificate of confirmation, and his grant of temporalities, all studiously omitting the usual references to his consecration. On the other hand, all the usual documents relating to his *consecration* are missing, viz. the usual significavit of consecration, the certificate of consecration, and the register of consecration. It is hard to believe that this is the result of mere accident."—Letter to *The Guardian*, Dec. 19, 1894. Any one would suppose from this that there were two sets of documents in bishops, the one about nomination and the other about consecration : and that the number of customary documents was eight in all. Whereas all the documents together were usually four, or maybe five, of which two only were exclusively concerned with his "nomination," or rather his election ; the rest are concerned with his nomination or election, and also, usually, but not quite invariably, with his consecration. In Barlow's case it is no doubt true that no extant document makes mention of consecration. I return to this point of the documents.

ing these inestimable arguments, which another Frenchman confuted.* Then it is urged that Barlow's opinion upon consecration was notoriously low: that Cranmer was as lax as he was: that King Henry matched them both: so that all three may have agreed together to perpetrate a wicked deception.† In reply

* The Abbé Renaudot, whose scepticism in the affairs of Egypt is applauded by Gibbon, brought forward these documentary objections, and Courayer confuted them. But other writers on both sides have disputed on them. 1. Barlow is called "Bishop of St. David's," and so signs himself in some documents, before he was consecrated, but not before he was confirmed: and, by canon law and usage, an elect becomes by confirmation "bishop and pastor," and receives the right to exercise jurisdiction. Barlow's case was somewhat complicated by his rapid translation. He was elected Bishop of St. Asaph, Jan. 16, 1536, and confirmed by proxy February 22, being in Scotland. He was translated to St. David's in April, being elected on the 10th, confirmed 21st, temporalities restored 26th. He never sat on St. Asaph. Now in the writs concerning his translation to St. David's he is called "Bishop of St. Asaph's." In the writs concerning his successor at St. Asaph he is called "late Bishop-elect of St. Asaph's." This difference seems to indicate official care, and to show that the officials of the Church well knew that he was not then consecrated. If they were thus careful, it is not very likely that they would have allowed him to go on without subsequent consecration, even if he had wished to perpetrate such an infamous fraud. I do not see what more can be made of these papers. See them in Bailey; and look at a remark or two in Brightman's *Objections to Engl. Orders*. 2. Queen Mary in her writ to confirm Barlow's successor in Bath used the unusual word *amotio* of Barlow: "per deprivationem et amotionem ultimi episcopi." Such a word would not have been used of a consecrated bishop! I suppose that it was because he *was* consecrated that *remotio*, not *amotio*, was used of White of Winchester by Elizabeth in a similar writ: "per legitimam inde remotionem Johannis White" (Rymer, xv. 552): but that again is an unusual word, and perhaps has a mystery behind it. 3. Renaudot cites from Rymer (xv. 550) the commission issued to Parker to confirm Barlow to Chichester, containing the words: "Et eundem Magistrum Will. Barlow episcopum et pastorem Ecclesiæ prædictæ consecrare." If these words had been therein, it would have been because some clerk copied the ordinary form of these commissions, forgetting that Barlow was a bishop already. But no such clause is in the originals, either in the Rolls or in Parker's Register. Courayer got an attested copy without it. It was Rymer who made the mistake. He had copied several such instruments, and overlooked the proper omission made in the original in Barlow's case. He did the same thing with regard to Scory.—*Ib.*

† So far from conspiring with them, if Barlow and Cranmer had

to such a notion it may be sufficient to remind the reader that this question of consecration in the appointment of bishops was specifically in debate between Rome and England at the time. In Romanensian writers the strong assertion may be found, that consecration made not a bishop, but the sanction of Rome: but no one supposes thereupon that an unconsecrated man would ever be declared a bishop by the Pope. It was only the vigorous statement of the popish theory. In the same way, when we read in the annals of Henry the Eighth such expressions as that the King's appointment made a bishop, it is not to be inferred that an unconsecrated man would ever have been appointed by the King. It was only the vigorous statement of the opposite theory. As to Barlow himself, the two theories were in violent collision in the year of his consecration, 1536. If he used the expression once or twice that the King's appointment was sufficient to make a bishop, he expressed the opinion once that consecration was necessary with the King's appointment.* But it is urged further that Barlow

behaved as these Roman champions pretend, in order "to give Henry a flattering testimonial to his theology," as one of them has it, Henry would have clapped them both under a præmunire. One of these unfortunate champions, to prove that consecration was not esteemed by the Tudors, triumphantly brings out that in Elizabeth's first Parliament there was a bill "to authorise the Queen to institute bishops without rites and ceremonies," referring to D'Ewes. Now D'Ewes has certainly "The Bill for collating of bishops by the Queen's highness, *and* without rites and ceremonies" (p. 52), an imperfect expression which might have led any ordinary person to think something to be wrong, and search further. D'Ewes had misread the *Commons' Journal*, i. p. 58, which has "*and with what rites and ceremonies.*" These inanities are pursued pretty closely by Mr. Denny in his *Anglican Orders*, p. 69.

* Henry once asked his bishops, "How can you prove that Ordering is only committed to you bishops?" I do not know that he ever went further than that. In the same paper that contains this question of the King's is found, from Cranmer and Barlow jointly, the explicit declaration that "Only appointment is not sufficient, but consecration, that is to say,

himself said that he was not consecrated : and that it is difficult to see on what day of his life Barlow could

imposition of hands, with fasting and prayer, is also required : For so the apostles used to order them that were appointed, and so have been used continually : And we have not read the contrary."—*Burnet, Collect.*, Pt. iii. Bk. iii. No. 71 (Pocock, vi. 247) : cf. Vol. II. p. 303 seq. of this work. This (which seems to have been overlooked) is to be set against the answer which (on the same occasion) to the question "Whether in the New Testament be required any consecration of a bishop, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?" Barlow is reported to have made, "The bishop of St. David saith, that only the appointing."—*Burnet, Coll.*, Pt. i. Bk. iii. No. 21 (Pocock, iv. 480). There he only answered half the question. There is another saying of his that is brought against him, which I notice further on in a note. As to his opinions I may further remark that the writers on both sides in this controversy have forgotten Barlow's book against the Lutherans, which proves him to have held higher opinions than he is credited with. I notice it more for the sake of illustrating the period than of adding to the controversy. Barlow then, in 1531, whilst he was still an Augustinian canon regular, wrote a book against the Lutherans. As he had previously written some furious diatribes against the Mass, the Friars, and St. Thomas of Canterbury, this was surprising : but the book was highly commended by Bishop Stokesley ; the more that in it Barlow explicitly and penitently retracted his former opinions. Now this book was reprinted in the beginning of Mary's reign, in 1553, after Barlow's resignation of Bath, with this title, "A Dialogue describing the original ground of these Lutheran factions, and many of their abuses. Compiled by Sir William Barlow, chanon, late Bishop of Bath, Anno 1553." His right to the title of bishop might be expected to have been denied here, if it had ever been suspected. The reprint has a violent new preface, apparently not by Barlow, which says that it was written long ago, but being out of print is republished for the use of Catholics, and that the author had been long among the Lutherans, "whose doings and doctrine so much misliked him that for no hatred to them, nor yet favour to others, but even for the discharge of his own conscience he thought it necessary plainly to shew the verity thereof." Then follows : "The Preface of the Author to the Readers," containing the same declaration in the same words. The dialogue is between Nicolas and William, the one a gospeller, the other a returned traveller, once a gospeller. The latter relates of himself, "After that I had seen Martin Luther, Pomerane, Melanchthon, and heard their preachings, perceiving their order there in Saxony, I went into High Almayne unto the Ecolampadians, and remaining there amongst them was oftentimes conversant with Anabaptists. In the mean space I saw many wonderful alterations, in destroying of monasteries, plucking down of churches, casting out of images, breaking of altars, and carrying of the consecrate stones to the building of their bulwarks : also marriage of

have been consecrated, so much was he away in Scotland or elsewhere. When it is answered that Barlow

priests, monks, friars, nuns ; contempt of holy days, annulling of vigils, fasting of the Lent, and embring days clean reject ; with other laudable ordinances institute by the Church. All places of Scripture where mention is made of Antichrist, false prophets, makers of lies, and any other they applied unto the clergy, naming themselves Christian Brethren, disciples of Christ, and Apostles of His Gospel. In denying Purgatory and authority of the pope, if they found in ancient authors so much as a corrupt title of an Epistle sounding anything to their purpose, altho the Epistle itself made whole against it, yet would they take it as the word of God and sure revelation of the Spirit. Contrary wise, if any alleged Austin, Jerome, Cyprian, or Chrysostom, they would admit their sentences for none authority, saying they were men, and all men were liars. In like manner as concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, where they read in doctors of the spiritual eating and ghostly being, they only accepted that ; and under the colour thereof they would exclude the corporal eating and bodily Presence of Christ, to the establishing of their blasphemous errors, which they shadowed under the cover of hypocrisy and persuasions of perverted Scripture. In such wise that openly seeing I could not perceive thus, until it pleased God of His inestimable goodness to bring me out of the land of darkness and region of death into the clearness of His knowledge and living light of truth, I cannot excuse me but that among the wicked I endeavoured myself to have done evil : but God so mercifully prevented me that it came to small effect in doing any harm. If I have been occasion of any man's fall or cause of slander, I am sorry for it, and ask forgiveness. Notwithstanding I never defended my opinion obstinately, neither despised the admonition of any virtuous person : that I have erred was through ignorance and of no malicious pertinacity. Where ye be in perplexity of credence giving unto my words, I am sure that if I spoke according to your appetite, ye would put no diffidence in me whether I said the verity or lied : for it is a plain case among the favourers of these new sects that they will refuse no forged tales making aught for their side, be they never so false. And seeing ye believed me in error, ye ought not to mistrust me now in my faithful revocation voluntary and not coerced." Further on he describes the dubious behaviour of those who forced themselves on the notice of authorities in religion. "I marvel what conscience those persons have who are so importune to be examined in presence of rude seculars and ignorant people, when they answer so doubtfully that the best learned cannot well construe their meaning. And in principal Articles, whereupon dependeth our salvation or damnation, some answer so nakedly in blind shifts, that they be able to bring unlearned people into error of things whereof they never doubted before, using ever overthwart speech and quailing sentence of double understanding, with protestations of hypocrisy after this fashion : ' In good faith I think there is a Purgatory, albeit I

himself said that he was consecrated, not that he was not consecrated,* and that Barlow's life gives times at which he may have been consecrated:† then the controversy is carried into other regions.

cannot tell whether I may believe it or no.' 'I suppose that confession made to a priest, and pilgrimages may be well done, but I find them not in Scripture.' 'I believe in these words of Christ, This is My Body, but as concerning the Bodily Presence in form of bread to say anything is above my capacity, I dare not meddle with so diffuse matters.' 'I reckon that I may believe the doctors of the Church, if they speak not against the word of God,' &c. To use such ambages in weighty causes, and to put in question afresh the cases defined by general councils, as tho we were uncertain of our belief, and new to begin again, I repute it no spirit of truth. . . . When these sly shifts fail them, they shew no constancy of their unfaithful doctrine, but falsely forswear themselves and say they never said so, the whole audience detesting their perjury, all but their own sect." Since I wrote this note Barlow's book has been brought into notice in several letters in Church papers by my friend Mr. Lunn. Barlow, it is right to add, reverted to his Lutheran opinions, to some extent at least, in his exile: and came back to England armed with commendations from some of the Lutheran princes and divines. See further on.

* Barlow said in a sermon of the year 1536: "If the King's grace, being Supreme Head of the Church of England, did choose, denominate and elect any layman being learned to be a bishop; that he, so chosen, without mention made of any orders, should be as good bishop as he is, or the best in England." Articles against Barlow at St. David's.—Strype's *Eccles. Mem.*, i. pt. 2, 273. That is, that the King's nominated man, without any Orders, would be as good a bishop as he was, who had Orders. This sentence, in which Barlow claims to be an ordered bishop, has, astonishing to relate, been misunderstood by Roman Catholics, who have cited it as if he had denied in it that he was an ordered, that is a consecrated bishop.

† The day of Barlow's consecration is not certain. A learned and candid writer, Mr. Lunn, maintains that it was February 26, March 5, March 12, or March 19, 1536, and that he was consecrated to his first see, St. Asaph.—Letter to *The Guardian*, Dec. 19, 1894. The more received and probable day was later, June 11, which is assigned by Haddan, *Preface to Bramhall*, vol. iii., and *Apos. Succession in Engl.* But against this, two Roman Catholics, Estcourt and Hutton, have brought a document of the next day, June 12, in which Barlow is called Bishop-elect of St. David's. Several arguments are brought by the Anglican writers to take off the force of this, see Denny, 186. These arguments seem to me sufficient to have settled an uncontested matter: but in contested matter we must go strictly by what we have. If then Barlow was

But before quitting this part of the narrative of this strange controversy, I venture to add a stone to the monumental pile of Barlow, and offer the following consideration as a kind of explanation, or it may be *éclaircissement*, of the vexed question of the missing register of his consecration. It is around this point that the strife has gathered, the one party holding it to have never existed or to have had reason of existence, the other that it was omitted by accident or negligence. If we turn to the great statute of Henry the Eighth, the recently enacted statute under which Barlow was promoted to his first and second sees, we find the whole process of the appointment of bishops prescribed with clearness, and the documents enumerated that were required to be exhibited. They were four. The first was the license to elect, with letters missive to the elective body: the election to be within twelve days. The second was the certificate that the election had been made: which was to be sent to the King under the common seal of the elective body within twenty days after receiving the license to elect. Upon this the person elected was to be reputed "by name of lord elect," and was to make his oath of fealty. The third was the King's signification or Royal Assent, Letters Patent under the great seal, signifying to the archbishop the election, and requiring him "to confirm the said election, and to invest and consecrate the said person," within twenty days after reception of the Letters Patent. The fourth was the *Restitutio temporalium*, or "restitution out of the King's hands of all the possessions and profits, spiritual and temporal, still only elect on June 12, he must have been consecrated on some day between June 12 and June 30: for on the latter day he took his seat in the House of Lords. Well, there were two Sundays and two Feasts on which he may have been consecrated. [See Stubbs' *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, p. 100.]

belonging to the bishopric." The newly confirmed and consecrated bishop was to sue for this, thus taking action for the first time himself in the process. The penalty for not electing, confirming, investing, and consecrating according to these directions was *præmunire*.* It will be observed that a certificate of the consecration was not among the documents required. Perhaps such a certificate was regarded as optional or superfluous.

To pursue the history of the controversy. It is exclaimed against the rest of the consecrating bishops, or co-operators, Scory, Coverdale, Hodgkins; that, if their head Barlow was no bishop, their co-operation availed nothing, even if they were bishops: and when it is answered that rather, if there were such defect in Barlow, it was supplied by them, it is further exclaimed that, on the contrary, co-operators are not agents but only witnesses in consecrations, to observe and attest that the consecrator does the work rightly which it is his alone to do. When the opposite opinion is adduced out of the writings of most reputable ritualists,† another

* 25 H. VIII. c. 20 (1533).

† There is diversity of opinion among Roman Catholics on this point. The tendency to exalt the Pope and lower episcopacy has led to the theory that one bishop is enough, if he have the Pope's commission, without any other bishops, although many of the canons of councils require three at least. This theory has led to the further theory that if there be three at least, yet only one does the work, and the rest are for show, and hence they are called "assistentes" in the Roman Pontificale. It is even said that the Pope might issue a commission for priests to take the place of assistant bishops at an episcopal consecration.—Dens, *Theol.* On the other hand, Hallier says: "Quod in Pontificali Romano unus solum dicatur consecrator, reliqui vocentur adistentes, non convincit unicum esse duntaxat necessarium ministrum qui solus consecrationem peragat: cum enim librum Evangeliorum omnes super caput ordinandi teneant, omnes manus imponant, omnes verba consecratoria proferant, omnes quoque consecratores vere dici possunt, cum in iis solum consecratio substantialiter consistat." As to the word co-operator he argues that it is properly used, because all contribute to the one operation that is performed.—*De*

issue is raised. It is remarked to have been something suspicious that not only Barlow but all the consecrators spoke the words of consecration, whereas the English Ordinal, according to which it is claimed that Parker was consecrated, bids the archbishop alone to say the words. When it is explained that these four prelates had not an archbishop among them, and all said the words because they were all alike bishops; and when it is added that in this they did but follow the Roman Pontifical, and should not be blamed by Romans: then it is replied that whether the English Ordinal were observed in all points or not is of no importance, because the English Ordinal, which was followed

Sacr. elect. et adiu. ii. 5. 2. Martène says, "An vero omnes qui adsunt episcopi cooperatores sint an testes tantum consecrationis inquiri posset. Verum non tantum testes sed etiam cooperatores esse citra omnem dubitationis aleam asserendum est."—*De Antiq. Eccles. Ritib.*, i. 8, art. 10, § 16. In the present day the learned canonist Gasparri, pointing out the difference of rite between the Eastern Church and the Latin Church, that in the former the assistant bishops are "meri assistentes," since they only impose hands without pronouncing the formula of consecration, but in the latter they both lay hands and pronounce the formula, concludes: "Episcopi assistentes sunt probabiliter *Commistri* cum episcopo consecratore. Sane una simul cum eodem ipsi manus imponunt super caput electi, et una simul pronuntiant verba *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, quibus solis juxta receptam sententiam episcopalis consecratio valet: unde non est ratio qua unus magis minister sit consecrationis episcopalis quam ceteri duo, sed conjunctim omnes sunt unica causa, seu unicus totalis minister consecrationis."—*Tractatus Canonicus De Sacra Ordinatio*, No. 1088. He further says that if the laying on of hands were omitted by the consecrating bishop, an episcopal consecration ought not to be repeated: evidently holding that, failing the chief, the assistant bishops validly consecrate.—No. 1112. Thus are opinions divided. However, the adversaries of England fall back on the authority of Azor, Faganus, Steyaert, or Fillineus: and when they are demanded why then do the canons of councils require three bishops at least, they smilingly reply that the requirement has respect to the legality, not the validity, of consecrations. "Ad canones autem qui plures episcopos exigunt respondent illos tantum agere de licita non de valida ordinatione."—Dens, *Theol. De Ordine*, No. 15, vii. 70, ed. 1832. It is for the sake of legality, then, that their assistant bishops pronounce the most solemn form of words that can be uttered by man!

mainly, was essentially defective in matter and form.* When it is asked in what the defects consisted, it is answered that, as to the matter, there is not in the ordination of priests in the English Ordinal any tradition or porrection of instruments: that porrection of instruments is the matter of Order, and the words accompanying porrection are the form: and that the lack of this rule nullifies all ordinations of priests made according to the English Ordinal: and so also of bishops. When it is answered that the same lack nullifies all the ordinations of the Latin Church for a thousand years and more from the age of the

* The matter and form of the Sacrament of Order was thus defined by Pope Eugenius IV. for the instruction of the Armenians at the Council of Florence: "Sextum Sacramentum est Ordinis, cujus materia est illud per cujus traditionem confertur Ordo: sicut Presbyteratus traditur per calicis cum vino et patenæ cum pane traditionem: Diaconatus vero per libri Evangeliorum dationem: Subdiaconatus vero per calicis vacui cum patena vacua superimposita traditionem: et similiter de aliis per rerum ad ministeria sua pertinentium assignationem. Forma Sacerdotii talis est: *Accipe potestatem offerendi Sacrificium in Ecclesia pro vivis et pro mortuis, in Nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*: et sic de aliorum Ordinum formis, prout in Pontificali Romano late continetur."—Harduin, ix. 440. By this decree the Pope Eugenius has been said to have disgraced his infallibility; but though the apparent ignorance displayed by him is astounding to any historical student, yet it may perhaps be pleaded in mitigation that he was merely describing for the guidance of the Easterns the rite of the Roman Pontifical as it had come to be in his day, and so was led to define as the matter of order a piece of ritual (the tradition of instruments) which was first introduced in the tenth century, and as the form a sentence (*Accipe, &c.*) which cannot be traced beyond the thirteenth. It is curious, however, that the modern deniers of the validity of English Orders appear to hold themselves bound by the definition of Pope Eugenius, and that this is the last ditch in which the most candid of them die. For instance, the learned Frenchman Portal, who writes under the name of Dalbus, after giving up Nag's Head, and unconsecrated Barlow, and all such allegations, pronounces against the validity of English Orders because in priests there is no tradition of instruments.—*La Science Catholique*, Jan. 1894. I suppose that tradition of instruments got into the hierarchic Orders from the lower Orders, in which it is the only matter; and, if so, that in the Roman rite the matter of the lower Orders (subdiaconate, &c.) has actually displaced the matter of the higher.

Apostles, that the Church of old knew of no other matter and form of ordaining than imposition of hands and prayer; it is answered, No: the Pope in the fifteenth century altered the matter and form from imposition of hands and prayer to porrection of instruments and accompanying words, but he still retained imposition of hands and prayer in full integrity, so that he cannot have meant to deny their sufficiency.* When it is replied that, if it be admitted that imposition of hands with prayer suffices, the English Ordinal, having that matter and form, cannot be called defective, it is retorted that, as the Pope saw fit to declare the matter and form to be porrection and the words appropriate thereto, the English ought to have followed him in their modern Ordinal (as they did in their old Latin Ordinal), and that, because they have not followed him, they are heretics. When it is asked what sort of a guardian of the Faith was the Pontiff who displaced the ancient matter of Order in the hierarchic degrees for a ceremony which was the only matter in the lower degrees, and who substituted for the prayer as the form a formula which was not above a hundred years older than his own time; it is answered that the conduct of the Pontiff was subsequently covered by the Council of Trent, which decreed that the Church had power to alter the circumstantialia of Sacraments, which belong to their administration, so long as their substance is preserved.† When it is enquired whether

* This is the argument mentioned by Benedict XIV. “Si Ecclesia ab ordinationis ritu ea ablegasset, quæ antiquitus fiebant, cogerentur utique affirmare ordinationis materiam et formam fuisse Ecclesiæ auctoritate mutatas, novasque antiquis subrogatas: Sed cum omnia quæ habentur in antiquis ritualibus perseverent intacta, ac sancte et integre etiam nunc peragantur, nemo facile credet illa eadem, quæ jampridem satis erant, nunc ad ordinis sacramentum perficiendum amplius non sufficere.”—*De Synodo*, viii. 10. 10, given in Dens, viii. 449, ed. 1832.

† “Præterea declarat Synodus, hanc potestatem perpetuo in Ecclesia

the matter and forms be not of the substance, the ground is shifted somewhat. It is affirmed that the English rejection of the matter and form assigned by the Roman Pontifical in ordering priests is nothing of chance, nothing of secondary moment, but a deep and deliberate heresy: that the instruments which the English refuse to deliver are the paten and the chalice, and the words which they refuse to speak are, "Accipe potestatem offerre Sacrificium Deo, Missasque celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis": that this marks an absolute denial of the Sacrifice of the Mass and of the Sacrificial priesthood: that it was to give this denial of the great essential doctrine of the Roman Church that the English excluded the pontifical matter and form in priests from their Book of Order. To this the grave answer must be that it is true: the Church of England in her Ordinal silently denies the propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass, and in denying the Sacrifice itself, denies that it can be offered by man, or that priests in ordination obtain the ministry of offering in a different mode that Sacrifice which was offered upon the Cross. The doctrine which the Church of England silently denies by omission in her Ordinal, she also denies explicitly in an Article, of which the language plainly points to the rite of the Roman Pontifical, the matter and form, which she has rejected.* But this is far from heresy: far from deny-

fuisse, ut in sacramentorum dispensatione, salva illorum substantia, ea statueret vel mutaret, quæ suscipientium utilitati, seu ipsorum Sacramentorum venerationi, pro rerum, temporum et locorum varietate, magis expedire judicaret."—*Sess.* xxi. c. ii. (1562). It was argued on this: "Mutatio materiæ et formæ non ad ritum et dispensationem sed ad substantiam pertinet."—*Bened.* XIV., *De Synodo*, lib. viii. c. 10. 10 (given in *Dens*, tom. viii. 448, ed. 1832).

* The well-known declaration in the Thirty-nine Articles: "Missarum Sacrificia, quibus, vulgo dicebatur, Sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem pœnæ aut culpæ, pro vivis et defunctis, blasphema figmenta sunt,

ing the Real Presence, the mystery of the Eucharist, and the reality of priesthood, of which the whole duty is not comprehended in the Roman form, but one function only, while in the English form the whole is comprehended to be "a faithful dispenser of the word of God and of His holy Sacraments."

On the English part it is further to be observed that after all it is by no means agreed among Roman Catholics that porrection and the works accompanying are the matter and form of Order. The Council of Trent never said so.* Many of their best theologians look askance on the decree of Pope Eugenius, and maintain that the matter and form of Order are prayer and imposition of hands.† It is not Christian or honest

et perniciosæ imposturæ" (Art. xxxi.), seems to me, though I have never seen it affirmed by any writer, levelled at the Roman Pontifical, and so at the whole doctrine which is therein implied, not merely at certain indefinite abuses or accretions, as it is often explained. I cannot see that any distinction is indicated by the plural, *Missarum Sacrificia*, from *Sacrificium Missæ*, but think that the plural arose out of the plural *Missas* in the form of the Pontifical. It is curious, I may add, that the phrase "tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis" is not used in the Pontifical, only in the ordering of priests concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass: it is used also in the ordering of deacons in the porrection of the Gospel: "Accipe potestatem legendi Evangelium in Ecclesia Dei, tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis": and in subdeacons in the porrection of the Epistles: "Accipite librum Epistolarum, et habete potestatem legendi eas in Ecclesia sancta Dei, tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis." The word that Bishop Bedell applies to this is, "ridiculous."

* Hallier indeed asserts that the Council of Trent has intimated in two passages that imposition of hands is the essential matter: where it anathematizes those who say "*frustra Episcopus dicere Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*" (*Sess. xxiii. c. 4, 1563*), which words accompany imposition later in the service than porrection and *Accipe potestatem*: and where, on Extreme Unction, it has, "*aut Episcopi aut Sacerdotes ab ipsis rite ordinati per impositionem manuum Presbyterii*" (*Ib. xiv. c. 3, 1551*).—Hallier, Pt. ii. § 2, cap. ii. art. 1. 11.

† Hallier mentions among the maintainers of porrection Soto and Sylvester: others held imposition of hands as well as porrection: as Peter Soto, Ledesma, Bellarmine, Henriquez, Scotus, also "nonnullos ex antiquioribus theologis."—Pt. ii. § 2, cap. ii. art. 1. 10. He seems himself to have

to allege against adversaries what is not certainly agreed among themselves. Hereupon we leave priests and return to bishops. There are some among the Roman Catholic theologians who, seeming not to limit the form of Order to the clause "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum," but to extend it to the prayer that goes before the clause in the English version, bring another objection against the English Ordinal, that the prayer that goes before the clause there makes no explicit mention of the office of a bishop which the form should do: that it is therefore not part of the form: that if there is any other part of the service that is part of the form, it is too far off from the part of the form which is inseparable from the matter to be indeed part of the form: that form and matter should go together. To which it may be answered that the English are not particularly bound to the distinction of form and matter, and to the maxims that may be proper thereto: but they cannot observe much coherence in the Roman Pontifical: that it is doubtful whether matter and form go together in the Roman Pontifical: that there are in it, in priests, two or three layings on of hands: first a silent imposition: then a continued extension of hands over the heads of the

thought that imposition of hands was the matter "saltem partialem." Peter Dens says that it is doubtful what the matter is in Order. "De materia hujus Sacramenti dubietas intercedit (de sacerdotio, episcopatu et diaconatu res est) num in instrumentorum traditione, num vero in impositione manuum, num tandem in utraque simul consistat."—*Theol.* viii. p. 153, ed. 1832. In modern times Estcourt says that "imposition of hands and prayer are essential in ordination, and the only essentials, that is in theory," and that this is the general opinion among Catholic theologians.—p. 171. Mr. Rivington says that the matter of Order is imposition of hands.—*Guardian*, Dec. 13, 1893. M. Boudinhon denies that the nullity of English Orders can be established from the defect of porrection of instruments in presbyteral ordination.—*Étude Théologique sur les Ordinations Anglicanes*.

ordinands with prayer : as to which their ritualists are divided whether it is to be reckoned a second imposition or the first continued :* then porrection of instruments, then a third imposition : so that the rite is an undigested mass of aggregation, leaving their own theologians in doubt as to the exact point at which Order is conferred. When they are further demanded how it is that while they deny the validity of the English rite because it has for matter not porrection, but imposition of hands, they allow the Eastern rite, which has imposition of hands for matter, not porrection : they reply that it is because the English once had the matter and form of the Pontifical, but

* “ Pontifex, nulla oratione nulloque cantu præmissis, imponit simul utramque manum super caput cujuslibet ordinandi successive, nihil dicens : Idemque faciunt post eum omnes Sacerdotes qui adsunt. Quo facto, tam Pontifex quam Sacerdotes tenent manus dexterarum extensas super illos : et Pontifex dicit, Oremus, ut Deus super hos celestia dona multiplicet, &c.” Pope Benedict XIV. observes on this rubric that some held that there were two impositions : and that the Sacrament was perfected in the second, which had the prayer for the gifts of grace : but that Martène held, not without reason, that the second was a continuation of the first.—*De Synodo*, viii. 10. 4. After this, a long way on in the service, came the porrection : in which, by the prevalent opinion, the Sacrament was perfected : and then, again a long way on, after the Communion, came another imposition, with “Accipe Spiritum Sanctum” repeated: “Pontifex imponit ambas manus super capita singulorum coram eo genuflectentium, dicens cuilibet, Accipe Spiritum Sanctum : quorum remiseras peccata, remittuntur ei ; et quorum retinueris, retenta sunt.” Among their writers there are two chief opinions : that porrection with the words accompanying are the only matter and form : and that not only porrection but imposition with words accompanying are also the matter and form : and some of their greatest names are among the latter. But again these latter are divided : some holding that the second imposition completes the Sacrament : others that both the first and second are “accidentalia,” and it is the third that is “essentialis” : and among these is Hallier (Pt. ii. cap. ii. art. 1 and 2) and Bellarmine himself, *De Sacrament. Ordin.*, lib. unic. cap. ix. : who goes so far as to say that different graces are acquired in different parts of the rite, and even that a man might be partly ordained at one time and finished at another. How can this be reconciled with the fact that the ordinandi are called ordinati immediately after porrection, long before the final imposition of hands ?

have wilfully departed from it, whereas the Eastern Church from the beginning has had no other matter and form but imposition of hands and prayer. When they are reminded that they themselves in the beginning had no other matter and form than the Eastern Church has, and that the English are but returning to the rite which they left and the East retained: they reply that they have the sanction of the decree of a Pope: and that long before Eugenius the schoolmen had determined that the matter and form of Order were porrection and the accompanying words.* They add that if the English rite, matter, and form were in themselves wholly sufficient, and such as the Church might have ordained, yet if the Church has not ordained them, they are null.† They mean their own Church. Thus they reveal again the position which renders contention nugatory.

The controversy now passes into another region, which has the name of Intention: and so it returns to Barlow and the other officiants of Parker's consecration. Intention is a scholastic subtlety, which Rome adopted, and by a decree of the Council of Trent bound upon her own communion.‡ To apply

* "Antiquiores scholastici, quos Sotus plerique alii Thomistæ sectantur, aliam non agnoverunt ordinationis materiam, quam porrectionem instrumentorum, neque aliam formam, quam verba huic porrectioni adjuncta."—Bened. XIV., *De Synodo*, lib. viii. 2; Dens, *u. s.* 442.

† This opinion is frankly affirmed by Boudinhon in his *Étude Théologique*.

‡ It was Eugenius IV. who adopted the doctrine of intention, and applied the definition, "of doing what the Church does." He laid it down that Sacraments required three things; Matter, Form, and Person with Intention, "Hæc omnia tribus perficiuntur: viz. rebus, tanquam Materia; verbis, tanquam Forma; Persona Ministri conferentis Sacramentum cum Intentione faciendi quod facit Ecclesia: quorum si aliquid desit, non perficitur Sacramentum."—*Concil. Florent.* ap. Harduin., tom. ix. 438. The Council of Trent enforced this in 1547: "Si quis dixerit, in ministris, dum Sacramenta conficiunt et conferunt, non requiri inten-

it to other communions is part of the same sublime begging of the question that makes the whole controversy impertinent. However, it is demanded whether Parker's consecrators had the intention of doing what the Church does in consecration, when they went through

tionem saltem faciendi quod facit Ecclesia, anathema sit."—*De Sacram. in genere*, Canon xi. Sessio septima. The doctrine is from St. Thomas Aquinas (*Quæst.* 64, art. 8 and 10) and is wonderfully elaborated. Intention is (1) Ex parte subjecti, seu ministri, in whom it is (a) actual, (b) virtual, (c) habitual, (d) interpretative. Of these actual is the best; but habitual is sufficient (according to St. Thomas; others mean by virtual what he means by habitual); which arises when a minister intends to do what the Church does, but his thoughts wander in the act. (2) Ex parte objecti, the minister's intention as it regards the Sacrament: this also is fourfold: external, to do an outward ceremony without any intention of doing what the Church does: internal, an intention of doing what the Church does, whatever the minister's opinion about the Church may be: Roman, to do what the Church of Rome does: to intend to confer the effects of the Sacrament. (This last is again divided into four parts, but need not be pursued.) Of these the only one that is necessary is the second. I have taken this account of St. Thomas' teaching from Dens, *Theol.* v. 127 seq. It may be added that Intention has been continually discussed from the time of its admission into the doctrines of the Roman Church; some theologians holding strict, others very lax views about it. At Trent a Dominican, Catharinus, maintained that if a minister ministered a Sacrament externally, saying within himself that he intended not to do what the Church did, but not betraying his perversity, the Sacrament was perfect: Pallavicino, Bellarmine, and others considered that he was not heretical: in which judgment Vasquez and several later writers concur. The opinion was thought to have been hit hard by Pope Alexander VIII., 1690, who condemned the proposition that if baptism were performed with wrong external rite by a minister who said in his heart, "I do not intend to do what the Church does," it held good: and the followers of Catharinus set themselves to show that his opinion was not nailed by the Pope's weapon.—See Bellarmine, *Controvers.*, tom. iii. 134 (1601); Bened. XIV., *De Synodo*, lib. vii. cap. iv., ap. Dens, tom. viii. 311. In our days perhaps Catharinism prevails among Roman Catholics as to this doctrine. Addis and Arnold, *Dict. of Catholic Doctrine*, 1893, p. 811, assert and support by authorities that it is enough for validity if the minister perform the outward rite in a serious manner, even if internally he withhold his intention: i.e. if of pure malice or impiety he say to himself, "I do not mean to act as the minister of the Church; I do not intend to baptise, consecrate, or the like, but merely to delude the people." This book has the sanction of Cardinal Vaughan.

the ceremony of consecrating Parker. Because the error of Lutherans and Calvinists, such as they are said to have been, is said to be, as to the efficacy of Sacraments, that, as they are but signs by which justifying faith is awakened, it is enough for the acts to be done and the words to be spoken, be the intention of the minister what it may. Whereas to the validity of a Sacrament is required the intention of doing what the Church does. The impugnors of English Orders say smartly that they could not have had the intention of doing what the Church does, because what the Church does they did not; since they used a rite designedly different in matter and form from the rite prescribed by the Church. But they mean their own Church. It is therefore of little avail in expounding their doctrine of Intention for them to adopt a large and generous manner, and say that it needs not to speak explicitly of the Church of Rome, so that what the Church would do be intended to be done; that it suffices to intend simply and generally to do what the Church does, whatever opinion be held of the Church. When these concessions seem to go too far, as they do when a great controversialist said that it mattered not whether it were the Church of Rome or of Geneva, so that what the Church did were intended to be done, an active recoil is made and peace vanishes.* When they approach too near the

* "You will ask," says Bellarmine, "what if one intend to do what some particular church does, a false church which he thinks to be the true one, a church of the Genevan sort: and intend not to do what the Church of Rome does? I answer that even that is sufficient." "*Nam qui intendit facere quod facit Ecclesia Genevensis, intendit facere quod facit Ecclesia universalis. Idem enim ille intendit facere quod facit talis Ecclesia, quia putat illam esse membrum Ecclesiæ veræ universalis, licet fallatur in cognitione veræ Ecclesiæ. Non autem tollit efficaciam Sacramenti error ministri circa Ecclesiam, sed defectus intentionis.*"—*Controv. De Sacr. in genere*, cap. xxvii. p. 123. It works round in this way: the erring minister

solid ground of history, as when, the case of heretical baptism being adduced, it is asked why, if by consent of antiquity heretics administered the Sacrament of baptism validly, may not heretics (if for the sake of arguing the English admit an inappropriate designation) validly administer the Sacrament of Order; then it is answered that the English so lightly regard Order as not to hold it a Sacrament, and are little likely to intend therein to do what the Church does. When it is demanded what it may be that the Church does in Order, it is answered that what the Church does is what Christ instituted: that in the case of Sacraments the two expressions are equivalent, because all the Sacraments were instituted by Christ: and that this is the doctrine of the Church. To this, when it is returned that, so far is this from being the doctrine of the Church universal, it has been the doctrine of the Roman Church itself only from the time of the Council of Trent;* and that the Church of England, in denying

wishes to do what the true Church Catholic does, only he mistakes in thinking an erroneous church, to which he belongs, to be part of the Catholic Church: now there is only one true Catholic Church, that is the Roman: so the erring minister wishes to do what the Roman Church does: only he knows not that his own intention is what it is. This doctrine of Intention makes a good weapon against an enemy: but among themselves the Roman Catholics are Catharinists, and the doctrine as good as non-existent. Bellarmine calls Luther's opinion about Intention "a new heresy" ("*nova heresis nostro tempore exorta*"), because Luther said (in his famous *Captivit. Babylon.*) of baptism, "*Non dubitem, si quis in nomine Domini suscipiat, etiam si impius minister non det in nomine Domini, vere baptizatum esse in nomine Domini: Non enim in conferentis tantum, quantum in suscipientis fide vel usu sita est virtus Baptismi.*" He also said of absolution, "*Si sacerdos non serio sed joco absolveret*"; yet if a man believed himself absolved, "*verissime est absolutus.*" This was condemned by the Council of Trent: but it is scarce a shade different from Catharinus. Roman Catholics are not High Churchmen.

* "*Si quis dixerit, Sacramenta novæ legis non fuisse omnia a Jesu Christo, Domino nostro, instituta: aut esse plura vel pauciora quam septem, viz. Baptismum, Confirmationem, Eucharistiam, Pœnitentiam,*

Order to be a Sacrament of the Gospel, is denying the equality claimed for it in the point of institution with the two greater Sacraments, affirming that it is a most venerable and efficacious ceremony, and conveys a character which is indelible: then the alternative view of Intention is held up. It is alleged that even if Barlow and his colleagues had performed the rite which the Roman Church still retains, which was the mediæval rite of England, so that no exception could be taken to what they did, yet their notorious doings as heretics and schismatics rendered their Intention doubtful; their past history in the time of the schism, as it pleases these controversialists to name it, and in the time of the reconciliation of the kingdom under Mary, is ransacked to detect their incapacity. We return by the way of Intention to the college of Parker's consecrators.

Of Barlow, the canvassed prelate, who had returned to his native country commended to the Queen by the praise of Melancthon,* enough has been said. But

Extremam Unctionem, Ordinem, et Matrimonium; aut etiam aliquod horum septem non esse vere et proprie Sacramentum, anathema sit."—*Sess. vii. Canon I* (1547). Bellarmine, in his chapter "Auctorem Sacramentorum solum esse Christum" (*De Sacram.*, i. ch. xxiii.), admits that according to this decree Hugo de St. Victore, Peter Lombard, Alexander Alensis, and St. Bonaventura were in error.

* Melancthon chose Barlow to be the bearer of his letter to Queen Elizabeth, commending him as a learned man, one who rightly worshipped God, and loved ecclesiastical unity.—*For. Cal.*, Eliz., p. 155. He also brought a letter from Albert Duke of Prussia, to which the Queen replied, saying that she had appointed William Barlow to be bishop of Chichester, that she desired to promote such men as he was, men of pure doctrine, blameless life, and constancy in religion, to the government of churches.—*Ib.* 354. The Elector of Brandenburg also sent her a letter by Barlow, saying that he had entertained him during his exile, recommending him as a pious and sincere man, attached to the Confession of Augsburg.—*Ib.* 109. Alexander Aless, Thomas Crumwel's friend, sent Elizabeth a long memorial, asking for some benefaction, which might be sent him by Bale or Barlow.—*Ib.* 534.

Scory and Coverdale, two of his co-operators (or in the Roman phrase assistants) who had been consecrated according to the English Ordinal of King Edward, are perused with vigilance and pronounced wanting. There were six bishops, it is exclaimed, whose Orders were conferred by the Edwardian Ordinal, and not one of them was continued in office by Pole.* Indeed a wondrous deal is made of Pole in this controversy. He descends, winged with briefs and bulls, flashing light on miserable darkness, dividing with unerring wand the clergy of a schismatic realm into various classes of irregular and invalid, improperly ordained and not ordained at all, and accordingly dismissing or reordaining them. Whereas it may be answered that he did nothing of the sort in reconciling the realm; that he was very easy; that he handed over the work to the bishops on the plea of his own lack of strength, leisure, and opportunity;† and that so far from being a fearless disciplinarian he was the weakest of instruments in the hands of a ferocious

* "There is not a single case of any of the six bishops made by the Edwardian Ordinal being continued in office by Pole."—Smith's *Rome's Witness against Anglican Orders*, p. 17. Scory and Coverdale were consecrated by the Edwardian Ordinal: and their consecration, says the late Mr. Estcourt (*Quest. of Angl. Ord.*), depends on the validity of the rite used. So be it by all means. Hodgkins was consecrated by Stokesley: and Mr. Estcourt asks why he was not employed as principal or consecrator instead of Barlow; and can supply no reason but that Barlow had been already elected to a see (and had sat on two before), the preference of compliance with the law over the validity of the rite (he complains, p. 117, that his fellow champions so mix up the question of a legitimate but canonical ordination with that of validity, that it is difficult to tell what they mean), and "the prevailing idea of the sufficiency of election without consecration" (p. 95). Perhaps Barlow was never thought not consecrated. It is in times long after his own that the prevailing idea has arisen that he was not: and this idea is used here in argument as if it had existed, and had cause of existence among his contemporaries.

† Vol. IV. p. 326 *seq.* of this work.

employer, who finally disgraced him on the score of public incapacity. It is alleged that in his instructions to the bishops for reconciling their dioceses he inserted a clause about preserving the form and intention of the Church,* which had the effect of excluding from his dispensation all those who had been ordained according to the Anglican Ordinal. To which it may be answered that such an interpretation gives a definite meaning to the clause which it was not intended to have: and that it was not so taken by the bishops to whom it was addressed. It is added that though there are no traces of reordination in the episcopal registers, that is no proof that there were none reordained, for that it is not the custom of the Church in recording reordinations to make mention of the previous ceremony. This may be granted: but we should expect a great many entries of ordinations in the registers, if a large number of men had been reordained silently: whereas there is no extraordinary number. Of those that there are, moreover, if they had been ordained before, and now had been ordained again, we should expect to find the former ordinations entered in the registers in the proper years. About a dozen such cases have indeed been detected by the diligence of Anglicans in the diocese of the zealous Bonner, but none elsewhere.† Whatever was done in exturbating the clergy in Mary's reign, the great part of it was done before the reconciliation, by the ordinary authority of the Queen,

* "Quodque irregularitate et aliis præmissis non obstantibus, in suis Ordinibus, etiam ab hereticis et schismaticis Episcopis, etiam minus rite, dummodo in eorum collatione Ecclesiæ forma et intentio sit servata," &c.—Burnet, *Collect.*, Pt. iii. Bk. v. No. 33. Cf. Vol. IV. p. 328 of this work.

† Such is the result of Mr. Frere's diligent investigations through the Episcopal Registers of England in 1896.

without the intervention of any foreign power. As for Scory and Coverdale, they were extruded from their sees before Pole ever set foot in England.* But, it is further alleged, whatever be their antecedent history, Scory and Coverdale were not bishops at all, for they were consecrated by the English Ordinal. This is the same astounding begging of the question to which the Roman Catholic controversialists always fall back.

Jurisdiction is another matter on which objection has been taken, with more reason at first sight, against Parker's consecrators. The distinction between Jurisdiction and Order is maintained by theologians of both sides, though it is in a single act, in the moment of consecration, that both Order and Jurisdiction are conferred. In consecration a bishop receives a purely spiritual authority to govern and feed. He receives, that is, the episcopate, being admitted into a body of men each of whom has, to use the celebrated expression of St. Cyprian, a perfect share of that which belongs to them all:† each of whom is competent to feed and govern the whole flock of Christ: each of whom has, in other words, bestowed by the Divine Head of the Church, a jurisdiction that is œcumenical. At the same time, however, since he is consecrated to some particular diocese, his œcumenical authority is restrained, in actual exercise, within the limit of a region; he is bishop of this or that place. Now of what place was Scory bishop, when he consecrated Parker? He was the elect of Hereford.

* Scory was extruded by Queen Mary between July 13 and August 24, 1553.—Lea's *Spiritual Jurisdiction*, pp. 33, 75. Coverdale was extruded by the restoration of Voysey by royal mandate by Queen Mary, Sept. 28, 1553.—*Ib.* 35. Pole came towards the end of 1554.

† "Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur."—St. Cyprian, *De Eccl. Unit.*, sec. 4.

Of what was Coverdale? He was quondam of Exeter, to which he refused to be restored. What of Hodgkins, the remaining assistant or co-operator? He was suffragan of Bedford. What of Barlow himself, the chief consecrator, as to jurisdiction? He was the elect of Chichester. Therefore Parker was consecrated by two elects, a quondam, and a suffragan: and was that sufficient? It would not have been sufficient if either of the elects had not been bishops before, but both of them had. But, it is added, Scory was an intruder: for, if he was a bishop before, it was inasmuch as he had been intruded into Day's bishopric of Chichester. Now it is evident that not to be a diocesan, not to be limited to a see, cannot affect the gift of universal jurisdiction, received in consecration. In itself the gift of jurisdiction transcends the limits of any patrimony; and enables those who receive it to exercise functions, which none but bishops can exercise anywhere; the restraint of it within particular limit being the accident of discipline. A diocesan bishop, for example, transcends his limit when he sits in council, and acts as a comprovincial. On the same principle custom has allowed that "vacant" bishops, that is, bishops who are informally attached to a see, or in process of translation to a see, and also translated intruders, are not debarred from taking part in such functions as consecration, if so be that they belong to the province: much less are suffragans, like Hodgkins of Bedford, debarred.*

* "Concerning the equal authority which suffragan bishops have to consecrate with others, the practice of the Church of England before the Reformation will clear all doubts of this nature. For the archbishops, in taking other bishops to their assistance in the consecration of bishops, or in giving commissions to other bishops to consecrate in their stead, made no difference between suffragan and diocesan bishops: so that I could produce above twenty examples of the consecration of diocesan

They revert to their œcumenical jurisdiction. But the reasonable consideration of the question is stopped once more by the gigantic assumption of the Roman party. It is of no use to enquire, say they, into the sufficiency or insufficiency of a jurisdiction that comes not from the Pope : for all spiritual jurisdiction comes immediately from the Pope, not from the Divine Head of the Church. That is to say, that of the two gifts given simultaneously in the act of consecration, the one, namely Order, comes immediately from Christ, the other, namely Jurisdiction, comes immediately from the Pope. To this it can but be answered that the opinion is very late : of the thirteenth or fourteenth century : first defined at the Council of Florence by Eugenius the Fourth, in the fifteenth century : not universally held by Roman theologians : and that it was most furiously debated, and left unconcluded, in the Council of Trent three years after Parker's consecration.*

bishops in England within two hundred years before the Reformation, performed with the assistance of suffragan bishops, and that when the canonical number of consecrators was not complete without them.”—Harmer, *Specimen*, 156.

* The definition in the Council of Florence is : “Item, diffinimus sanctam Apostolicam Sedem, et Romanum pontificem, in universum orbem tenere primatum, et ipsum Pontificem Romanum successorem esse Beati Petri Principis Apostolorum, et verum Christi Vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiæ Caput, et omnium Christianorum patrem ac doctorem existere : et ipsi in Beato Petro pascendi, regendi, ac gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Domino nostro Jesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse : quemadmodum etiam in gestis œcumenicorum Conciliorum, et in sacris canonibus continetur.”—Mansi, xxxi. p. 1031. This popery was vehemently maintained at Trent in 1562 by the Jesuit Lainez, as is well known, to the derogation of simple episcopacy : but this has not been the view of all theologians of his order, much less of all Roman Catholic theologians. The famous Jesuit Vasquez, of the seventeenth century, expressed the opposite opinion : “I say that bishops have received all power of pronouncing judgment, which is called active jurisdiction, and, as it were, radical jurisdiction, not from the Pope but immediately from Christ : from the very fact that they have been

A great matter in this controversy has been the record of Parker's consecration in his Register at Lambeth. When Nag's Head was broached, this record, which is long and particular, was forthcoming in refutation. But because Nag's Head was not broached till forty years were passed, it has been objected that the record of Parker's consecration was never produced for forty years, and was not contemporaneous, but was forged by the man who then produced it.* The men who are capable of such arguments are incapable of receiving an answer. They have conned the record with unceasing diligence, they have compared it with other memorials of the same event, and have built enormous theories on any verbal differences that they found. Nag's Head has been at the bottom of their diligence, though most of these labourers may profess to have given up Nag's Head : or if not Nag's Head, the shadow of Nag's Head, the constant assumption, which is found in their writings,

constituted bishops, they have received *jure divino* the power of making laws." He holds that the permission to exercise jurisdiction in this or that diocese belonged to the Pope : not the œcumenical jurisdiction. See Puller's tract on *The Jurisdiction of Bishops*.

* It was Mason who produced the Register : whereupon Kellison said he had forged it, using the word *contexere* : "ait me *contexuisse* Registra Kellisonus," says Mason : adding that if he meant by the word that he had forged registers, it was what some other papistic writers were not ashamed to say : if it meant that he had collated registers, he willingly acknowledged that he had. He thinks it necessary to point out in answer that the Register could not have been forged by him, because though not produced before, it had been referred to, as e.g. by Parker himself in his *Antiquit.*, published in 1572 (who refers to his Register book as containing the consecrations that he had himself performed, the same volume that contains his own consecration. "Hæ consecrationes et confirmationes in Registris apparent" (p. 541 of edition 1729). Haddan says there are two or three other examples in which the Register was quoted, before it was published.—Haddan's *Bramhall*, iii. 174. Mason's account of this charge is in *Vindic.*, Bk. iii. cc. xvi., xvii., xviii. See especially pp. 400, 413.

that the proceedings in Parker were clandestine : that some wickedness was done which it was necessary to conceal : whence that the Register is fraudulent, or has been tampered with in some way. No one will seriously combat an absurdity, but it may be related that the document has been carefully conned in consequence of these curious allegations, century after century. It was examined in the seventeenth century by the invitation of an archbishop, in the presence of several bishops, by three Jesuits and another Roman Catholic, who found themselves unable to confirm their own suspicions. A hundred years later it was formally examined for the satisfaction of a foreign enquirer, in the presence of four witnesses, of whom two were Roman Catholics, with the result that might be expected. The learned editor of a great Anglican authority has, in the present age, patiently pounded the whole question into particles, leaving his testimony that the genuineness of the Register cannot be impeached without pure madness. A living prelate of eminent learning has devoted himself to several examinations, reaching the same conclusion.*

* Briefly to tell of these researches. 1. A Roman Catholic writer, Fitzherbert, challenged the production of the Register, that it should be shown to a number of intelligent Catholics, "*qui eodem oculis perlustrato et rite perpenso, de ejusdem veritate et validitate sententiam et testimonium ferant.*" Whereupon, in 1614, Archbishop Abbot invited the arch-priest Collinton, two Jesuits, Laithwait and Faircloth, and Leak, a secular priest, to examine it in the presence of himself and six bishops, London, Durham, Ely, Lincoln, Bath, and Rochester. They examined Parker's consecration with the utmost care, and at length allowed it to be beyond suspicion, "*Sibi quidem videri codicem omni exceptione majorem.*"—Mason, pp. 415-6. These poor priests were in prison at the time. They endeavoured afterwards to recede from their acknowledgment, and requested to have the Register in their own keeping for a while, for further examination. This was refused (p. 417). 2. At the request of the well-known Courayer, by direction of Archbishop Wake, in 1722, an inspection of the Register was made before four witnesses, two being Roman Catholics. The result was the same as before.

A grave consideration hereabout is that there are two (maybe three) contemporary copies of the record inserted in the Lambeth Register concerning Parker's consecration: one in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and another in the State Paper Office. These are assumed to be transcripts of the Lambeth Register, and as they exhibit several variations from it, and those variations not common to both, the one varying from it where the other agrees with it, the theory is advanced that the Lambeth Register is not an authentic contemporaneous record of the consecration. The modern work which the Roman Catholics commend as their classic of the controversy, maintains this while it rejects the foolish allegation of forgery. Thus there are two parties among them in this part of the controversy: those who cry forged register, and those who cry suspicious register. As to the variations, the State Paper Office manuscript had at first a Latin phrase of three words which was altered into an equivalent Latin phrase of two words, to agree with the Lambeth Register: it had in another place three Latin words recording a fact, which are not in the Lambeth Register: * and above

3. The great Haddan, in his edition of *Bramhall*, vol. iii., has left an amazing monument of industry. He has gone into every corner of the documentary part of the controversy, and has expressly recorded his conviction that any one who questions the truth of the account of Parker's consecration, given in his Register, must be prepared to assert that the whole Register, of 400 pages, is a forgery; and that the episcopal Registers of Winchester, Exeter, Lincoln, and half a dozen more are forgeries: and that is to say the least. Look at his Preface. 4. Bishop Wordsworth of Salisbury, in the present day, has repeatedly inspected the Register, with the invariable result.—*Letter to the Old Catholics*, p. 20.

* The State Paper Office manuscript had at first "consecrationis curam agerent," which was altered to "consecrationi inservirent," so agreeing with the Lambeth Register. It has "*Cicestrensis quedam prafatus atque populum ad orationem hortatus*": and those three words

all, it makes the words accompanying the imposition of hands to have been spoken in Latin, not in English as in the Lambeth Register. From these differences it is argued that the Lambeth record was not entered in the usual course, but was sent first to Cecil for his approval! The other, the Corpus manuscript, agrees with the Lambeth Register, not with the State Paper Office manuscript, as to the three words commemorative of a fact; and with the State Paper Office manuscript, not the Lambeth Register, in giving the words accompanying the imposition of hands in Latin, not in English. It is inferred on the whole, therefore, that the State Paper Office manuscript was the draft from which the Corpus manuscript was taken; and that the Corpus manuscript was to have formed part of the record in the Lambeth Register, but that after it was written it was found that to have Latin for English in the words accompanying the imposition of hands would be making the whole account a fiction, and that therefore this parchment was laid aside, and another instrument made!*

quædam præfatus atque are not in the Lambeth Register. See the late Canon Estcourt's *Question of Angl. Ordinations*, p. 103.

* "Manibus Archiepiscopo impositis dixerunt Anglice, viz. Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by imposition of hands, for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness [*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum, et gratiam Dei quæ jam per impositionem manuum in te est, excitare memento. Non enim timoris sed virtutis, dilectionis et sobrietatis Spiritum dedit nobis Deus.* MS. Corpus Christi Coll., Camb.]. His dictis, *Biblia Sacra illi in manibus tradiderunt, hujusmodi apud eum verba habentes: Give heed unto thy reading, exhortation, and doctrine, think upon these things contained in this Book: be diligent in them that the increase coming thereby may be manifest unto all men: Take heed unto thyself and unto thy teaching, and be diligent in doing them, for by doing this thou shalt save thyself and them that hear thee through Jesus Christ our Lord. [In legendo, hortando, et docendo vide diligens sis, atque ea meditare assidue quæ in hisce libris scripta sunt: noli in his segnīs esse, quo incrementum inde proveniens omnibus innotescat et palam fiat.*

If the foundation sink beneath this pile, there is a substructure in another manuscript, if better this serve not for another, a loftier, edifice. Among the Harleian manuscripts there is one of Parker's consecration, copied from the Lambeth Register, but differing therefrom in some respects, notably in that it describes Barlow as consecrator, the rest of the bishops as assistants, and in that it distinctly affirms that the form which they followed was the Ordinal of Edward the Sixth. Here then, it is exclaimed, we have an evidence that the present record of the momentous ceremony, contained in the Lambeth Register, is not the same that once was in the Lambeth Register. How wonderful that these notes should survive, extracted from it as it stood originally, before the Anglican party under the pressure of the criticism of their opponents had found out their mistake in assigning to Barlow the office of consecrator, and had become aware of the invalidity to be alleged against the Edwardian Ordinal! How plain it is that the record was rewritten so as to mask these facts, which were too damaging and too dangerous to be admitted in the Register!* This towering structure vanishes

Cura quæ ad te et ad docendi munus spectant diligenter: hoc enim modo non teipsum solum, sed et reliquos auditores tuos per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum salvabis. MS. C. C. C. C.]—Bailey's *Ordin. Anglican. Defensio*, p. 15. I may add, on the Corpus Christi manuscript, on which Estcourt builds so much, that, as he says "on the same parchment" and "apparently in the same hand," there comes a commission from Parker to Walter Haddon to be commissary of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, "dated December 27, 1559."—Estcourt, 102. It is not unimportant, perhaps, as a side issue, to notice that Estcourt, writing in 1873, has no doubt as to this date. Mr. Lunn has expressed the opinion that this date has been tampered with, and has asked me to look at it. It seems to me that an attempt has been made to alter the 5 into 6 and the 9 into 5, yielding 1565. If so, this has been done since Estcourt's time.

* This document is among the Foxii MSS., Harleian, 419, fol. 149. Estcourt thought it so important that he has given a facsimile of it. He

(if it be necessary to do more than look at it) before the reasonable reflection that all that can be said with certainty of this Harleian manuscript is that some unknown contemporary for some unknown reason examined the Lambeth Register, and has left behind him notes which in two or three particulars are not identical in expression with the Register, but relate what he knew to have happened at Parker's consecration, and that he gives nothing that is inconsistent with the Register, nothing new, nothing that all men knew not from the first.*

says it is "widely different" from the Lambeth Register. He raises on it the structure of theory that I have described, and remarks that it was probably after Bonner's plea against Horne, some years later, that "the Anglican party" got alarmed. He adds that the word *tunc* in "confirmatus fuit nono die Dec. tunc proxime sequentis" makes it seem clear "that the Register was not engrossed during Antony Huse's lifetime." Antony Huse was principal Registrar under Cranmer, Pole, and Parker; whose Registers are in the same handwriting, which was probably his. He died June 1, 1560. What has that *tunc* to do with him? There is another *tunc* that has been brought forward on the other side out of the title of the Canterbury Register during the vacancy of the see after Pole's death: which title describes the Register as "incipiens mense Novembri, A.D. 1558, Magistro Antonio Huse tunc Registrario principali dicti Archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis."—See Denny's *Anglican Orders*, 45. According to Roman Catholic argumentation, then, it might be inferred from this that the Canterbury Register, the Register of the Dean and Chapter there, was not "engrossed," or written fair, till after Antony Huse's death: that is, the Canterbury authorities never thought of writing up the transactions during the vacancy between Pole and Parker till Parker had been archbishop six or eight months at the least, though, unaccountably, the hand that wrote them at last was the same that wrote Pole's Register. On this hypothesis, either Huse was not the writer of any Register at all, or his ghost came back to write. I have given, in the previous note to this, Bailey's comparison of the Register and the Corpus MS. I add now the comparison of the Harleian MS. in the same passage. "Qui quidem consecrator et assistentes manibus Archiepiscopo impositis dixerunt Anglice Take the Holy Ghost, &c., cæteraque omnia descripta per quendam libellum editum pro consecratione episcoporum auctoritate per Parliamentum anno v. et vi. Edwardi VI. exercuerunt." [This note was left unfinished by Dr. Dixon.]

* A few days after I had reached the end of this historical account

It may be supposed that Cecil did what he proposed at the accession of Elizabeth, immediately informing

of the Roman controversy, there was published in the English newspapers, September 21, 1896, a Papal Bull, in which Pope Leo XIII. pronounced Anglican Orders to be invalid and null. This sentence appears as the outcome of an investigation made by a commission which the Pope appointed at his own instance, and in which England bore no part. It claims to have been exhaustive: but in reality it was prejudiced and ignorant. After the commission was appointed, documents were discovered in the archives of the Inquisition which showed that in a case that occurred in the eighteenth century, known as "the Gordon case," a Pope, Clement XI., had decided that English Orders were invalid: and this previous decision bound the present Pope. So he pleaded in his Bull, wherein he calls the documents "*documenta integræ fidei*." After the commission had concluded its labours, and a week after the Bull had been published, there was put into the newspapers a statement of the case; which statement was drawn up by two Roman Catholics resident in England, one of whom was Canon Moyes, the other, to my surprise, Dr. Gasquet. It was an unhistorical and utilitarian statement: it was not laid before the commission: but it would not have been the cause of the decision if it had been. The investigation could only have one result consistent with the Roman claims: the manner of its procedure is of little interest. It may perhaps be worth while to look at the Bull itself for a moment. The objections brought in the Bull against the validity of English Orders are not historical but technical. The Bull indeed flings overboard the whole historical case against English Orders, all the allegations that have been made and repeated by the Roman champions for three centuries and a half, which we have been toilsomely examining. Nag's Head, unconsecrated Barlow, falsified Register, and the rest, which have been laboured in vain from age to age by men who have never been recalled from vanity by any Pope, go over as top-hamper. It need not be said that this is done in entire silence, no confession of defeat, nothing so handsome as an acknowledgment that in the historical part of the controversy the victory lies with England. According to the Bull, the whole case against English Orders hangs on defects of the English Ordinal. After a long exordium, abundant in errors, about what Cardinal Pole is said to have done by virtue of his commission against men ordained according to that Ordinal, the Bull proceeds to exhibit the technical or theological defects on which it founds. As might be expected, these are in the three requisites of matter, form, and intention: requisites laid down (as we have seen) by Pope Eugenius IV.: whose words are: "*Hæc omnia tribus perficiuntur: viz. rebus, tanquam materia: verbis, tanquam forma; persona ministri conferentis Sacramentum cum intentione faciendi quod facit Ecclesia.*"—Harduin, tom. ix. 438. Now in the first of these requisites Leo's Bull goes against

the Papal court of the event through Karne, the English resident: and to the uncontrollable temper of Paul the Fourth and the instigation of the French ambassador has been ascribed a reply which at once undid the work of Mary in recovering England to the

Eugenius IV.; in the second it contradicts the Council of Trent; in the third it begs the question. 1. As to matter, the Bull says but little: but decides that it is imposition of hands, and seems to allow that on this category the English rite is sufficient. But Eugenius said that it was porrection that was the matter, and the only matter. So that according to one Pope the English rite is sufficient in matter, according to another it lacks the only matter that Order can have. It is interesting to observe that the Bull tries to hedge by saying that imposition of hands is the matter, "*in so far as we have to consider it in this case.*" 2. As to form: the Bull says that the English rite is defective in that the words "*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum,*" which it contains both in priests and bishops, are not sufficient without a specific addition: that they express not definitively the sacred Order of Priesthood, or of the Episcopate. Here it contradicts the Council of Trent: "*Si quis dixerit per sacram Ordinationem non dari Spiritum Sanctum, ac proinde frustra Episcopos dicere Accipe Spiritum Sanctum . . . Anathema sit.*" This is the more extraordinary in that both in the Roman Office and in the first three revisions or editions of the English Office, in priests, these solemn words are continued in the same way: "*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum, quorum remiseris peccata remittuntur eis,*" &c.: "*Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven,*" &c. The Bull goes off on the tack that the priesthood is not conveyed by "*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum,*" but by "*Accipe potestatem offerre sacrificium,*" which comes previously in the Roman Office. There it may be left to the English answerers; though it may be further noted that the Bull pays no regard to the opinion of Morinus and of the more learned Roman theologians that the form is and always has been precatory, residing in neither of the imperative sentences, but in the prayer or prayers in the Pontifical. 3. As to intention, the Bull has nothing particular to say: merely that those who have been ordered by the English rite have not been ordered by the Roman rite: and that those who ordained them cannot have meant to ordain them by the Roman rite, because they did not: and that therefore the intention of doing what the Church does has been absent, nay designedly abandoned. This last is a stretch. There was an intention of doing what the Church does: but of not doing it altogether in the same way as that in which the Church of Rome does it. On the publication of this portentous instrument, the most learned men of the Roman communion, whose researches had led them to hold or entertain the validity of English Orders, dropped their pens, folded their hands, and bowed their heads.

Holy See. Alike by the friends and foes of Rome it is repeated that Paul's answer to Karne was that he could neither admit the pretensions of a bastard nor refuse to sanction the claims of the rightful heir, of the nearest legitimate descendant of Henry the Seventh, of the wife of the Dauphin, and the Queen of Scots.* To which it is added that Elizabeth's instant rejoinder was the withdrawal of her ambassador from Rome. But there is no warrant for this story, which is not borne out by contemporary authorities. On the contrary it is evident that the Pope was in the balance of uncertainty concerning Elizabeth from the beginning of her reign to the day of his death. The French ambassador laboured him to declare Elizabeth illegitimate, and the Scottish Queen the right successor, but obtained nothing.† He himself dis-

* Tierney says: "He replied that, as a bastard, Elizabeth was incapable of succeeding to the English crown: that by ascending the throne without his sanction she had insulted the authority of the Apostolic See: but that notwithstanding, if she would consent to submit herself and her claims to his judgment, he was still desirous of extending to her whatever indulgence the justice of the case should allow. Elizabeth, as might have been expected, instantly ordered Karne to return."—*Dodd*, ii. 121. Lingard says: "Paul replied, that he was unable to comprehend the hereditary right of one who was not born in lawful wedlock: that the Queen of Scots claimed the crown as the nearest legitimate descendant of Henry VII.; but that, if Elizabeth were willing to submit the controversy to his arbitration, she should receive from him every indulgence which justice would allow" (vi. 5). Hume says: "He told Karne, that England was a fief of the Holy See; and it was great temerity in Elizabeth to have assumed, without his participation, the title and authority of queen; that being illegitimate, she could not possibly inherit that kingdom: nor could he annul the sentence pronounced by Clement VII. and Paul III. with regard to Henry's marriage," &c. (iv. 2). Heylin says the same. For all this the only authorities given by any of these writers are the two historians of the Council of Trent, Pallavicino (ii. 14, 8) and Sarpi (lib. v.).

† Karne to the Queen, Dec. 31, 1558. *For. Cal.* 55. "The French here can obtain nothing at his Holiness' hands against your Majesty: he hath such respect to your Majesty and your realm that he will attempt nothing against either, unless the occasion be first given thence. One of

approved of the peace between France and England, which was concluded now, the peace of Cateau Cambresis, of which the most prominent article was the virtual renunciation of Calais to the French, and it was apprehended that he would proclaim her a bastard and a heretic, and invite the Most Christian to invade her: but the Most Catholic interposed; for Philip had his own part in the treaty, and his own designs for the bestowal of Elizabeth's hand in marriage: he entreated the Holy Father to suspend his judgment, and assured him that at the end of the negotiations Elizabeth would remain a Catholic.* As to Karne, it is true that the Queen wrote to him, shortly after her accession, to stop him from acting as ambassador at Rome, particularly in a pending case of matrimony;† and again to recall him, "in con-

the Cardinals, greatest with his Holiness, shewed me that he and others mind to move his Holiness to send his Nuncio to your Majesty, but stay till you do send hither first to him." Karne to the Queen, Feb. 16, 1559.—*For. Cal.* 135. Haynes' *Cecil Pap.*, p. 245.

* "His Majesty has sent orders to Cardinal Pacheco first of all to perform every sort of office with the Pope, narrating to him the entire negotiation of the peace, and giving him the treaty: after which he is to let him know that on the conclusion of the peace the Queen of England will remain Catholic."—*Venet. Cal.* 72, April 23, 1559. "King Philip besought the Pope, who is understood to bear the Queen of England very ill will, and to meditate proceedings against her, to suspend his judgment, and not to issue any act until the result of the negotiation for her marriage to the Archduke Charles be known."—*Id.* June 11, 1559. "The people here are grieved to hear from Italy that if it were not for your Majesty, the Pope would proceed against the Queen. It is wonderful how maliciously they stand aloof from any of your Majesty's affairs, and how they put the worst construction upon everything that is done for them." The Bishop of Aquila to Philip, June 19, 1559.—*Span. Cal.* 77.

† Letter to Karne at Rome, that he should henceforth "forbear to use his authority in soliciting or procuring of anything in the matter of matrimony depending between Mr. Chetwood and Mr. Tyrrell." Dec. 1, 1558.—*Acts of Privy Council*, vii. 11; Strype, ch. i. This was the case of appeal to Rome from Pole's sentence, which was afterwards so characteristically provided for in a clause in the Supremacy Act of Elizabeth's first Parliament, that if the sentence in the appeal should be

sideration that there was no further cause why he should make any further abode there": but this was not in answer to any menace or insult from the Pope, from whom it appears not that any communication whatever was received in England. Karne's commission suffered to expire without renewal, and Karne notified of this, and recalled as a private subject, may have intimated unwelcomely to the Pope the course determined by the Queen, but on the other hand the Pope seems to have clung to such hope as there might be in Karne's continued presence with him. He would not indeed let Karne depart, who was old, frail, poor, and at home in Rome: and he gave him a small office there for his maintenance: but this was out of private friendship, without notifying it to England: and on their part the Queen and her Council took not the least notice of Karne's disobedience in not returning.* The voice of the Pope was not the

given from Rome in sixty days it should hold good. See above, p. 60. It deserves notice as the last appeal that ever went to Rome from England.

* February 1, *Acts of Council*, p. 50. In this letter Karne is termed "late ambassador," whence it would seem that, not having his commission renewed, he was regarded as a private subject (and indeed this is the meaning of the former letter of the Council, that he was not henceforth to act in the appeal case). Karne replied, April 1, in a long letter to the Queen, that when he was obediently preparing to come home, he was told not to do so without the Pope's knowledge: that thereupon he made a long remonstrance: that the Pope would not see him on pretence of sickness: that he tried a cardinal or two, one of whom spoke of it to the Pope, who was "sore moved": that he could not get out of the gates of the city, which were well guarded: that in thirty years of service he had spent all his substance without any recompense but his diets: that he was an old man with nothing to live on.—*For. Cal.*, p. 193. Two days later, April 3, he wrote again to the Queen that, though revoked by her, he could get no access to the Pope or leave to depart: that the Pope had sent by a cardinal ordering him under pain of excommunication to remain, since the Queen had revolted from the Holy See: and had given him the office of head of the Hospital of the English nation for his maintenance.—*Ib.* 199. Soon after this it was confirmed that Karne had

trumpet that sounded for the duel between the two most renowned of queens, which nevertheless was now begun. Paul the Fourth died in August in extreme age, fierce to the end, commending with his last breath the Inquisition to the particular countenance of the cardinals. He was a good man, hated even by good men, it was said, for he marred his own efforts by an unhappy temper and manner, bespeaking anger and choler in his gestures and the motion of his head. "Hell broke loose at his death,"* for his strictness had enraged the world. The people ran through the city, cursing his name and actions; they smashed his statue in the Capitol, and dragged the head of it through the filthiest places for three days, then flung it into the Tiber. They rushed to the House of Inquisition, let loose the prisoners, burned the prison and the court of judicature with all the processes, papers, and records, maltreated the Inquisitors, and would have burned their lodgings, but for a timely diversion. The arms of the Caraffas were everywhere defaced by a decree of the people of Rome, and that famous family remained thenceforth without an ensign in the city. The See remained vacant four months and seven days, to Christmas.

thankfully received the appointment, which Pole had holden before. Throgmorton to Cecil, May 30.—*For. Cal.* 292. Karne died in 1561.

* Such is the vigorously adequate expression of Challoner at Antwerp to Cecil. "All at Rome went on wheels, hell broken loose." The Roman people, he proceeds, "in their fury, discontented with the terrible proceedings of the new manner of the Inquisition established by the late Pope (for the branches thereof extended not only to heresy, but also to Sodomy and blasphemy, things no less familiar than hard to be touched or reformed, among them), went in a plump on the news of his death to the chamber or court of the Inquisition, and there slew (as some letters purport) the Chief Inquisitor, a friar, or (as other letters) only wounded and very roughly entreated him and his complices. And not content therewith set all the prisoners *suspectos hereticæ pravitatibus* at liberty, and some others for company," &c. He "trusts poor Wilson is of the number."—*Ib.* 514.

A few weeks before the death of Paul, the French King, Henry the Second, who had secretly urged the Holy See against England, expired of a wound accidentally received in a tournament at Paris. By his counsel the Dauphin and his wife had openly assumed the arms of England, and quartered them in their liveries: an injury of which the English ambassador complained in vain. His death advanced Elizabeth's rivals to his throne: and Francis the Second continued to wear her arms and title without apology. She, on her part, retained the irritating style which had descended to her, which her sister had kept: though the designation of Queen of France was ridiculous by the law excluding females from the succession, and though the loss of the last English foothold in France rendered it a bauble. Domination, indeed, appeared to have crossed the Channel when Francis and Mary Stuart stood together beneath the royal canopy. With France in inheritance, Scotland in dowry, to join England by reversion was a dream which a Papal excommunication, or a Papal sentence of bastardy, might have carried into daylight. But the Spanish and imperial interest drew another way. Philip had not forgotten that he once had been titular king of a kingdom which he might yet recover by marriage under a Papal dispensation, or at least attach to his house by advancing the suit of the elegant Prince Charles of Styria, the son of the Emperor Ferdinand. Thus were the great factions set. The unwedded state of the Queen represented the state of her realm itself. Both were independent, both inexpugnable, and yet both seemed on the point of capture. If she remained free, she balanced the contending parties against one another, and England could not be appended to France: if she had yielded

England would have been added to the Netherlands and Spain, or entangled in an untoward alliance. The turn of events, which by the death of Francis in a year or two lifted the French crown from the brow of Mary Stuart, while at the same time Scotland appeared to be lost to her through the tremendous outbreak of the Scottish Reformation, gave presage of the final issue. It left her a widow lamenting her misfortunes, moving the pity of all who approached her, and yet sinking inevitably, it seemed, into poverty and dependence. By the suit of the Earl of Arran, the Governor of Scotland, another aspirant to the hand of Elizabeth, she beheld her native patrimony not only receding beyond her reach, but about to be united to England, when another vicissitude restored partially her fortunes. Elizabeth rejected Arran. The way to Scotland lay open to Mary. Another plan, which Cecil had, of excluding her, and joining the crowns by a marriage between Elizabeth and some male scion of the house of Stuart, was quashed by Elizabeth herself. Perhaps the woman pitied the woman: the queen disdained the meanness of such a mode of reducing a distressed adversary: and the spirit of the maiden revolted against a mere matrimonial bargain. Elizabeth's resolution to remain as she was, though expressed, as occasion came, like sallies of imperious caprice, was of higher public wisdom than Cecil's intrigues, or the clamours of a Parliament imploring her to enter matrimony.

The obsequies of Henry, King of the French, were performed according to the custom of the realm in princes, but with extraordinary solemnity, in St. Paul's, on September 8 and the day following. The choir was hung with black, with arms disposed upon it. A hearse of nine storeys and eight pillars, garnished

with cloth of gold and velvet, countless pensiles and escutcheons, displaying the helmet, the mantle, the armour, targe, and sword of the deceased, was carried into the church on the eve of the former day. After it walked the Lord Treasurer Paulet, as chief mourner, followed by a company of barons, and three bishops, Parker, Scory, Barlow, the elects of Canterbury, Hereford, and Chichester; the French ambassador, the Kings at arms, Heralds, Pursuivants, Household, Wardrobe, and Ushers. In what followed there was something of the usual balance between the two religious parties, with the usual not total advantage of the Reformers. The general frame of the ceremonies was the same, but there were significant alterations. When all were placed, the herald whose duty it was to bid prayer for the departed, standing at the upper choir door, pronounced instead a solemn thanksgiving for the translation of the French King from the earthly to the heavenly kingdom. The old office of the Dirge followed, but in English not Latin: and there were prayers or collects from the English Prayer Book substituted in place of several prayers for the dead that were in the old office, as if to abolish praying for the dead from a reformed Dirge: and yet it was not abolished, but retained in two or three places.* Even-

* Strype, who gives by far the fullest printed account of these remarkable obsequies (*Annals*, i. 126), seems to deny that the office used was the Dirge. "And first certain Psalms of praise were sung for the departure of the dead in the Faith of Christ, instead, I suppose, of the *Dirge*." But it manifestly was the Dirge, done into English, and considerably altered. Machyn, who gives a valuable account, says that they "continently sung dirge" (210). The Dirge which they sang was taken out of Elizabeth's Primer, which was published this year. It has recently been reprinted by the Rev. Canon Ross-Lewin in the *Revue Anglo-Romaine*, July, 1896. Heylin says it was performed by Parker, Barlow, and Scory. As compared with the previous English Dirge in the Primer of Henry VIII., the chief differences were these: 1. Henry's Dirge had

song in English concluded the function. The next morning about nine there was a celebration of the Holy Communion, when Scory preached a sermon in which he strove to pacify the minds of both parties as to ceremonies used in burial; that in the primitive Church the service was to give praise for the removal of one in the Faith of Christ: that they were now taking the self-same order: but that other ceremonies, which were neither beneficial to the deceased nor to the living, nor yet according to the primitive Church, were now taken away and abolished.*

This Dirge came out of Elizabeth's Primer, which was published in this year, 1559. The Primer, the private prayer book of England, had undergone no great alteration during the fourteen years that were passed since the authorised Primer of Henry the

three prayers: "God, to whom it is appropriated to be merciful ever and to spare, be merciful to the souls of Thy servants," &c. "O God, the Lord of pardon, grant unto the soul of N. Thy servant, the year's mind of whose death we have in remembrance, a place of rest, the blissful quiet and clearness of Thy light, through Christ our Lord." "O God, that art Creator and Redeemer of all faithful people, grant unto the souls of all true believers, being dead, remission of all their sins," &c. For the first was substituted the collect, "O God, whose nature and property is always to have mercy"; the second was omitted; for the third was substituted a prayer that we might be delivered from all our sins, and also from the pains that we have for them deserved. 2. The final supplication in Henry's Dirge, "that the prayer of Thy suppliants may avail to the souls of Thy servants, that Thou wilt both purge them of all their sins, and cause them to be partakers of Thy redemption," was omitted. 3. On the other hand the anthem, "Deliver not to beasts, O Lord, the souls of them that confess Thee, and forget not at length the souls of Thy poor people," was retained. The last prayer but one was retained, "Almighty, eternal God, to whom there is never any prayer made without hope of mercy, be merciful to the souls of Thy servants, being departed from this world in the confession of Thy name, that they may be associate to the company of Thy saints. Through Christ our Lord."

* Strype gives the expenditure on this costly ceremony, which was borne by the Queen, to her great credit with all persons. Also *For. Cal.* 544. 547.

Eighth, in 1545. Henry's Primer had been reprinted several times in the reign of Edward the Sixth, very much as at first, preserving the old structure and contents, with a few verbal softenings, with the Angelical Salutation left out, and the Shorter Catechism put in. In the year 1553, however, a new kind of Primer had been started, unlike any before, containing neither the Hours, nor the Dirge, nor the Commendations, nor the Hymns; neither the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, nor the Ten Commandments; containing the Catechism, together with all the Collects out of the Prayer Book, and consisting besides of prayers for every day of the week, and sundry occasional prayers. It was not a Primer, but a book of miscellaneous devotions. Elizabeth chose the former of these models for her own Primer, which was but her father's Primer reprinted with a few such alterations as have been mentioned, and some parts of the morning prayer of the Book of Common Prayer very awkwardly inserted: and she made her choice more emphatic, and perhaps more acceptable to the Romanensian party, by prefixing to it the Preface of Henry the Eighth to his Primer, and the Injunction by which he authorised and established it.*

The old image of a league or religious concord between England and the Protestants, which had amused Henry the Eighth and fascinated Cranmer, was revived at this time with illusory attraction. The scene, the name, the memory of the first formation of their association was recovered to the Protestants by the Diet held at Augsburg: and the sons or survivors

* See Clay's Preface to *Private Prayers of Elizabeth*, Parker Soc. He has given, in the notes, the differences between Elizabeth's and Henry's Primer. They are mostly as to the adoration of the Blessed Virgin. The Calendar in Elizabeth's is uncommonly bare of saints' days, of which Henry's is full.

of the Augustan Confession were willing enough to listen to the rumours that their famous platform might be extended to the English Church, and to exchange complimentary dispatches with the English Queen.* The Duke of Prussia and the Landgrave of Hesse opened proposals and received gracious replies: that she desired nothing more than that the pure faith and discipline embodied in the Confession of Augsburg should be established in her realm: that it was her intention to follow the express word of God in religion, and such explanations of the faith and traditional rites as were contained in the Confession of Augsburg: and that she valued highly a union with the princes who agreed in it.† Her ambassador, Mundt, recommended to the Protestants to send an embassy into England: and a joint letter was written to her by the Elector of Saxony, the Count Palatine, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, that she should follow the example of her brother Edward, and adhere to the Apostolic religion in accordance with the Confession of Augsburg. About the same time Cecil wrote to Mundt a proposal for a more general union of all the states which had "deserted the Papal superstition and joined the pure doctrine of the Gospel." Mundt, in answer, pointed out that their own differences upon the mode of the Presence in the Lord's Supper would render such a concord difficult.‡ Many in England were in favour of such a concord: but the dislike of others of the Evangelics was echoed by the alarm of the foreign Catholics at the notion of it. Bullinger wrote to Utenhovius, Hiles to Bullinger, Martyr to Sampson, to express their apprehensions. "If," cried Martyr, "your countrymen determine to embrace the Augsburg Confession, and to seek an

* July 2, *For. Cal.* 354.

† *Ib.* 361.

‡ *Ib.* 478, 480. August 15.

alliance with the Protestants, judge you for yourself in what estimation the epistles that I write, and those of men like me, will be held.”* Nor less some of the Spanish interest feared lest such a step should be taken by the Queen. “She has said three or four very bad things in conversation with me,” reported Feria to Philip; “one was that she wished the Augustan Confession to be maintained in her realm. When I was much scandalised, she said that it would not be the Augustan Confession, but something else like it: and that she differed very little from us, believing in the Divine Presence in the Eucharist, and only dissenting from three or four things in the Mass.”† So she trimmed her sails, but it needed not. Philip and his directors preferred the Augsburg Confession to any formulary devised or likely to be devised among any of the reformers. The restless Paul Vergerio, Wirtemberg’s agent, made it his business to see Killegrew and Mundt, the English envoys, and inform them that both the King of Spain and the Emperor would be satisfied, since England was not to have the religion of the Pope, if no other doctrine than the Augsburg Confession were introduced.‡ Vergerio sent his own nephew Ludovico into England with a letter to the Queen from the Duke of Wirtemberg to the same effect: that on the basis of the Augsburg Confession

* “Si, ut dicitur, consilium est vestratum, ut Augustanam Confessionem amplectantur, et fœdus Protestantium ambient, ipse cogitare potes quo loco meæ ac mei similibus literæ sint habendæ.”—20 March, *Zurich Lett.*, ii. 29, Lat. (Epist. xx.). Cf. pp. 15, 17, 48.

† *Span. Cal.* 61, April. Two years later Bishop Quadra suspected that negotiations with the Protestants were one of the reasons for refusing to admit a Nuncio.—*Ib.* 203.

‡ This was in agreement with the proposition made at this Diet that nought but the Catholic Religion and the Augsburg Confession should be allowed in the Empire. “Catholica Religio” and “Augustana Confessio.”—*For. Cal.* 172.

the Spanish and Imperial alliance would stand with England against the Pope and France. On Ludovico's return, Vergerio proposed to go into England himself, either as ambassador, or for himself, and to preach there.*

The word Protestant, the designation of the powers that agreed in the Confession of Augsburg, began at this time to obtain its unfortunate vogue in England. No term misapplied has been more fruitful of confusion. It hovered on the confines in the reign of Edward ; it marched to the capital of celebrity, whence it has never been expelled, now, in Elizabeth's first year. But I am inclined to think that the victorious invasion entered the realm that it has subjugated, not from the land of its nativity, nor in consequence of the renewed negotiations that have been described, but from the boreal hills of Scotland, and that it was admitted by the intelligent facility of Cecil. Scotland was at this moment in the throes of her own tremendous Reformation. Cecil intelligently perceived that the frightful havoc of that revolution was a protestation against something, against an existing system, of which the evils were certainly flagrant : and in his correspondence with the envoy Croft concerning the Lords of the Congregation and their doings the Protestant appellation was not uncommonly applied : while an explanation of the novelty, an expository limitation of the term, may be detected where they add "the Protestants of

* All this was in the first part of 1559 : see the letters in *Foreign Cal.*, pp. 112, 225, 243, 245, 246. In one of them Vergerio relates that some English people who had lately arrived in Germany were found to have 27 Articles, differing from the Augsburg Confession : that these had been written down, and that the Princes were talking about it : that he himself had endeavoured to excuse or deny this, urging that though two or three might hold such wild opinions, yet others did not. These Articles may perhaps have been the "Declaration" laid before the Queen, which we examined in the last chapter.

Scotland.”* But perhaps, though it is impossible to tell, the bewildering appellation had already passed into use: and Cecil may have merely followed the innovation. Cox, in one of his remonstrances with the Queen, speaks as if it were both prevalent and needful of apology: “the Protestants, as they term them, on the one side, and the Papists on the other.”†

* Cecil, in July, endorsed a list of the Congregation, “Protestants of Scotland.”—*For. Cal.*, p. 351. Croft writes to Cecil soon after, “The Protestants of Scotland do still remain at Edinburgh.”—*Ib.*, p. 365, where “of Scotland” is omitted as superfluous by Stevenson, the editor, but is found in the original in *State Pap. of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 55, Rec. Office. Cecil and Croft, as they got on in using the designation Protestants, dropped the description “of Scotland.” On the other hand, it figures in the French Articles of Agreement between the Congregation and Mary of Guise, the Queen Regent, of July: “Articles accordez aux les Protestans de Scosse.”—*For. Cal.* 406; *State Pap. of Scotland*, i. 69. I think that traces may be found of a similar apologetic explanation or limitation when the word began to be accepted in England, and afterwards. Thus, Aylmer, in his *Harborowe . . against the late blown Blast*, published this year, has not the word: it is unknown to him as applied to England. But when Strype, a hundred and fifty years after, writes *Aylmer's Life*, and has to give an account of his book, he perceives on the one hand that Aylmer has nothing about Protestants, and he knows on the other that every Englishman who is not a Papist is now called a Protestant, and he feels himself bound to use the prevalent term (as he unfortunately does in all his writings concerning this period): so he tries to reconcile the two positions by describing the *Harborowe* as “penned in the name and for the vindication of the English Protestants”: and on this description he founds his whole review of “a work which contains not the name of the imaginary persons in whose name he thought it was penned.” Aylmer, being out of England, knew nothing of the partial acceptance which certainly the word had obtained at that time in England. Again, the Romanensian exile Dorman publishes his *Proof* at Antwerp in 1564. He attacks therein the inconsistency of those who once opposed but now upheld the government of a woman (fol. 119). He uses not the word Protestant: and yet Strype, when he refers to the passage, says that Dorman brought this accusation against “all English Protestants” (*Annals*, i. 122). Dorman, however, going out of England in the beginning of Elizabeth, was not so unacquainted with the partial acceptance of the word here as Aylmer was, and though he will not have it in his text, he puts it in his margin in another passage, in which he caricatures the English doctrine of the Presence, and sums it as “A Protestant's Faith” (fol. 73).

† Bishop Cox to the Queen, Strype, App. 22.

A year or two later, one of Pilkington's opponents speaks of "the new preachers and Protestants."*

John Knox, who was now in the day of his power in Scotland, had printed in Geneva in the reign of Mary Tudor a book that would never have seen the light if he could have foreseen the course of events, his *First Blast against the monstrous Regiment of Women*. He was supported by the violent exile Goodman in another book, that it was unlawful for women to reign, forbidden by the word of God. The consequences of this were various and not fortunate. The books were brought into England, and read extensively. Their furious, indeed murderous language alarmed the Court, and cast suspicion on the returning exiles, who were kept in poverty longer than they might have been. The exiles disowned such opinions. Calvin disowned and regretted them.† Notwithstanding all denials, the exiles, and the Evangelics in general, incurred the attack of the contemporary Romanensians, as having defended rebellion and assassination, when Mary was on the throne, and, when Elizabeth, submission both in temporal and spiritual things.‡ As for Knox and Goodman, Cecil declared them to be abhorred in the eyes of England. Goodman passed into Scotland, whence in a year or two he returned to England, and made a full retractation of his book. Knox, desiring at once on Elizabeth's accession to revisit England, vainly endeavoured to obtain permission by a letter to Cecil that he would

* Pilkington's *Works*, 552 (Park. Soc.).

† Calvin wrote to Cecil, about January 29, 1559, concerning Knox's book, which was published without his knowledge, regretting that such subjects should have been moved by one arrogant and rash person, "ob inconsideratum unius hominis fastum."—*Zurich Lett.* ii. p. 35.

‡ Dorman brought this charge in his *Proof*, p. 119. See Strype, ch. ix., who gives a full account of this matter.

acknowledge the Queen by means of a distinction: that she was to be heartily obeyed not by reason of her right of succession or the laws of the land, but by an extraordinary divine dispensation: which if she would confess he would willingly maintain her authority.* He was indeed conceding more than Elizabeth or Cecil knew: for he had a second Blast nearly ready. And he might have blown it. His *First Blast* was answered with temperance, dignity, and learning by one of the returned exiles, Aylmer, a friend and assistant of Fox in his great work, now Archdeacon of Stow.† He never blew his second.

John Knox, while he was thus engaged, wrote to one of his female correspondents a denunciation of "the Great Book of England," the Book of Common Prayer, of the second revision of Edward the Sixth, the volume which, hurled by the strong hand of Cox, had expelled him from the city of Frankfort. "A portion of the Beast's Marks are left in your Great Book of England," said he, "the Cross in Baptism, kneeling at the Lord's Table, mumbling or singing of the Litany, *from lightning and tempest*. No jot of which diabolical invention will I ever counsel any man to use. The whole Order appears devised more for the upholding of Massing priests than for good instruc-

* See Strype as above. Knox wrote to the Queen himself in July, to the same effect.—*For. Cal.* 398.

† Aylmer was Archdeacon of Stow before his exile, and a distinguished man in Convocation.—Vol. IV. p. 75 *huj. op.* He soon after his return became Archdeacon of Lincoln, and eventually Bishop of London. His *Harborowe . . . for faithful subjects against the late blown Blast* was printed in Strasburg in this year, 1559, just before his return. He treats Knox with great consideration, as a good man though mistaken. The work was out in April.—Cf. *For. Cal.*, p. 287. Strype's *Life of Aylmer*, ch. xii. Knox had heard of it but had not read it in the following July, and hoped that the writer had no less assayed the glory of God and the commodity of his country, than he in his *Blast* to utter his conscience. To Cecil.—*For. Cal.* 375.

tion. Their Sacraments were ministered without the soul: because they were ministered without the word truly and openly preached. I would not countenance such superstitious priests in their corrupt, lifeless, liturgical services.”* And yet the Book that he detested, “the Book set forth by godly King Edward,” was ordered to be read in the churches of Scotland by the Lords of the Congregation in place of the Latin service.† Perhaps the influence of Knox was not so great as he thought. He seems to have made no public protestation against the introduction of the English Book; which was among the measures of the Congregation for establishing a unity between the realms: but he wrote again to his female correspondent that he disliked the English Reformation and the English Acts of Parliament: “If your Reformation be no better than your Acts express, I repent not of my absence from England.”‡ And yet he persisted in applying to Cecil and the Queen, four or five times, for passage into England. In August he made a descent by sea upon Holy Island, in the character of a secret ambassador: he was received into Bamburgh Castle, conversed with Crofts, and departed in a day or two, having done no more than excite suspicion.§

* Strype, ch. ix., Knox to Anna Lock; *For. Cal.* 204.

† “As to the parish churches, they cleanse them of images and all other monuments of idolatry, and command that no masses be said in them: in place thereof the Book set forth by godly King Edward.” Kirkaldy to Percy, July 1.—*Ib.* 350. “The parish churches they deliver of altars and images, and receive the service of the Church of England according to King Edward’s Book.” Cecil to Throckmorton, July 9.—*Ib.*

‡ *Ib.* 344, Knox to Anna Lock.

§ “On 1 Aug. Mr. Knox came by sea to Holy Island, minding to come to Sir Harry Percy and myself secretly: but at his arrival he was so well known that his being here is published abroad, which will breed great suspicion. Howbeit he is so secretly conveyed to this castle, that my speaking to him can be suspected but not known. He delivered the

Of the sincerity and holiness of Knox there is no question. In one of his letters he roundly rebukes Elizabeth for her compliance under Mary. In another he sternly reproaches Cecil for the same weakness, his "horrible defection from the truth": that he had "by silence consented and subscribed to the suppressing of Christ's true Evangel, the erecting of idolatry, and the shedding of the blood of God's dear children." In another he humbly thanks his Divine Master, who had employed his tongue for forty days in preaching the truth. But he was not of capacity and learning to guide the reformation of a kingdom.

Flying from the horrible persecution to which they found themselves exposed in their own country, the Dutch or Low German Strangers, who had been banished from England by Mary, were not slow to seek again from Elizabeth the privileges and immunity which had been granted them under Edward. The learned Adrian Hamstedius, a man who had suffered much for religion, came from Zealand in the former part of the year, gathered a flock of his countrymen, and was permitted to preach to them in several of the London churches, as Christ Church and St. Margaret's, Westminster. But when Utenhovius arrived, a few months later, who had been an elder in their former congregation here, they desired a more settled place of assembly. Utenhovius came with high commendations, bearing letters to the Queen from Alexander Aless and John Laski or A Lasco: from the one he brought the immense burden of reminiscences to which we have had several occasions of referring, from the

offers and requests of the Protestants, &c." Crofts to Cecil, Aug. 3.—*For. Cal.* 445. He arrived "in such unsecret sort, that it is openly known both in England and Scotland; he has not discreetly used his coming." Percy to Cecil, Aug. 4.—*Ib.* 447.

other, whose constant associate he had been, a parenetic effusion against "Parliamentary theology," with the favourable notice of "a brother in the Lord."* With him came Peter de Loene or Deloenus, a minister, son of the Walter de Loene who was one of the ministers of the Strangers in Edward's days:† and Peter was admitted to serve the church of the Strangers now as the colleague of Hamstedius. But when Utenhovius presented the royal charter of Edward, which he had brought with him carefully preserved, whereby their congregation had been incorporated as a body politic of a superintendent and ministers, with the request that it might be renewed or confirmed, the Queen demurred. A *corpus incorporatum politicum*, as the charter had it, could not be created, with a foreign superintendent, as Laski had been, without maiming the jurisdiction of the diocesan.‡ Their petition bore the restitution of their former "Temple of the Lord," which was part of the church of the Friars Austin, with the houses of their ministers adjacent: and this was

* *For. Cal.* p. 534.

† Vol. III. p. 234 of this work.

‡ The "Supplication of the Ministers, Elders, Deacons, and other brethren," Lond. Dec. 10, 1559, is in the Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. vii. No. 62 (*Cal.* 144). They record their former settlement under Edward VI., whom they call a second Cyrus in the building of the Temple. They enumerate the benefits which their allowance would bring the Queen's realm: viz. that Christ rewards kindness done to His members: that merchants can propagate the Gospel: that dangerous foreigners would be distinguishable as forming no congregation; that "*regnum augetur bonis civibus ac fidelibus, nimirum cælestibus ac filiis Dei*": that daily prayers would be offered for the Queen: that the foreign poor are supported by their own people. They add that diversity of ceremonies was no great obstacle, being adiaphora; and point out that in Mary's time foreigners allowed the English abroad to keep their worship. Utenhovius sent next day a petition (*Ib.* No. 63) relating his troubles *nomine religionis* under Charles V., and asking the Queen for restitution of £400 Flemish, owing to him. These documents are printed in *A Lasco Opera*, Kuyper ed., Amst. 1866.

granted, against the opposition of the Marquis of Winchester, the unscrupulous Powlet, who held the rest of the site. By the Queen's Purveyor the Temple was cleared of the casks, vessels, and naval stores with which it was filled in Queen Mary's days; and the Strangers entered therein. They sought to take off the principal objection to their incorporation by accepting the Bishop of London as their superintendent: and they ineffectively repeated their petition for a charter. However they long after enjoyed an unmolested worship and a permitted constitution. As for the French Strangers, who had formerly been included in the concern under Superintendent Laski, they showed no desire to resume that privilege: but a church in Threadneedle Street, part of St. Antony's Hospital dissolved, sufficed them for themselves.*

* Strype, *Ann.*, ch. viii. The following alphabetical list of the German Church in London, specifying their trades and occupations, is in *State Pap. Dom. Eliz.* xvii. 33 (*Cal.* 177). It has not been printed before, and may interest the reader.

Nomina eorum qui se adjecerunt Ecclesiæ Germanicæ quæ est Londini.

A.

Antonius Ashe, municeps regni, sericarius, liberos habet 6, quorum tres sunt Angli.

Ant. Maddan, municeps, textor, proles ht. 5 quarum duæ hic natæ.

Ant. Elspet, municeps, aurifaber, proles habet 4 hic natus.

Ant. van Reux, textor, inserviens cuipiam Anglo, prolem habet.

Ant. Schersliper, proles habet 3, quarum una hic nata.

Ant. Sadeler, municeps.

Andreas de Swarte, sine liberis operatur in turri, in opere Reginae.

Andreas Jansen.

Andreas Blaue, sericarius, sine liberis.

Adrianus vanden Doorne, olim Consul in Breda Brabantiae, sine liberis.

Adr. Cornelisoon, sericarius.

Adr. Obri, calcearius, prolem habet unam.

Adr. Saravius, juvenis studiosus.

Albertus van Huysen, famulatur cuidam Anglo.

Adam Kaldermaker, municeps.

Ambrosius Scherslyper, proles habet duas.

Alardus Kycke, textor, prolem habet unam hic natam.

Abraham de Moor, nodifex, proles habet 3 quarum duæ hic natæ.

Andr. de Beyser, veteramentarius, prolem habet unam hic natam.

B.

Barth. de Witte, textor, prolem
habet unam hic natam.
Burcherus Janson, sportarius, inser-
viens cuipiam Anglo.
Bernhardus Joosens, juvenis.

C.

Cornelius Stevens, vitrearius inser-
viens Anglo, prolem habet unam
hic natam.
Cornel. Varberght, coriarius, proles
habet tres quarum una hic nata.
Cornel. Vonaerts.
Corn. Lancemaker.
Corn. Heyndrix, nauta, sine liberis.
Corn. Voorts.
Carolus Reux.
Car. Fermin, pistor, uxorem et
liberos habet in Flandria.
Car. Hermans, textor, sine liberis.
Corn. Hendricks, ludimagister,
prolem habet unam.
Christianus Lamoot, agricola, pro-
lem habet unam.
Christ. Janson, pileorum confector,
sine liberis.
Christ. de Vriend, juvenis, operatur
in turre Londin.
Cæsar Anthonii.
Carolus Vanden Ende, faber tigna-
rius, prolem habet unam.
Corn. Plas, confector bombardula-
rum.
Corn. de Reyser, tinctor inserviens
cuidam Anglo, proles habet tres.
Claudius Dottigun, ludimagister,
proles habet quinque.

D.

Dionysius de Haze, coctor cervisia-
rius juvenis alteri inserviens.
Dionysius Dale, compactor librorum,
sine liberis.
Dionysius Scherrier.
Dominicus Bauwens, Antverpiæ

olim, salsamentarius, uxorem
habet absentem.

Dionysius Fredericks.

E.

Eckbertus van Eschede.
Erasmus Top, textor, prolem habet
unam hic natam.

F.

Franciscus Marquino, caligarius.
Fras. Triapin, senex decrepit. sine
liberis.
Fras. Simonsoon, veteramentarius
sine liberis.
Fras. Bolle, pannifex, liberos habet ix.
Fras. Stale.
Fras. Vanden Bosche, ahenarius
sine liberis.
Fras. de Raed, pannifex, prolem
habet unam hic natam.
Fras. de Hane.
Fras. Martins, municeps, haberdas-
sarius, ut loquitur, sine liberis.
Fred. Conraerts, municeps, sartor,
liberos habet duos Anglos.

G.

Gelius Broeders, municeps, sartor,
liberos habet tres in Anglia natos.
Gelius van Hielie, collarius.
Gelius Bouchhoen, faber ferrarius.
Gelius de Conghe, doleator, proles
habet tres.
Gelius Jansen.
Gel. de Langhe, faber ferrarius,
cælebs.
Gel. Weegstreem, agricola, sine
liberis.
Gel. Lanslot, ludimagister, sine
liberis.
Gerardus Rutgher.
Ger. Peeters, coriarius juvenis.
Ger. Natte, confector pileorum,
proles habet tres, quarum una
hic nata.
Gregorius Prince, municeps, auri-
faber, liberos habet duos.

Ghistenas Olivier, hortularius, sine liberis.

Ghist. Baerd, agricola, proles habet sex.

Gerardus Erthus, textor, sine liberis.

Goynardus de Loenmaker.

Ghisbertus Stevins.

Ghisbertus Janson, juvenis pedagogum agens apud quendam Anglum.

Ghisbertus de Wolfe, operatur in turre Londin. sine liberis.

Gabriel Berts, faber lignarius, proles habet duas, quarum una est Angla.

H.

Henricus Mareschal, nodifex, sine liberis.

Hen. Lieuins, scrutarius, sine liberis.

Hen. Kuyle, aurifaber juvenis.

Hen. Keningk, chyrothecarius, proles habet duas.

Hen. de Vriese, juvenis.

Hen. Spaen.

Hen. Moreels, tapetarius in opere Reginæ, proles habet duas.

Hans Bouclier.

Hans Jaes.

Hans Nielands, juvenis inserviens Anglo cuipiam in serico.

Hans Jacobs.

Hans van Utrecht, sartor, sine liberis.

Hans de Brand, juvenis profectus in Flandriam.

Hans Clerck.

Hans Erclé, sartor juvenis.

Hermannus van Oog, municeps, calcearius.

Herm. van Monck, collarius, municeps, proles habet quattuor.

Hubertus Unghen, juvenis.

Hercules Conghelingk, chyrothecarius.

Henricus Nabuer, sartor, famulus.

Hans Fisscher, seræ confector, juvenis famulus.

I.

Joannes Utenhovius, municeps.

Joannes Enghelram, olim apothecarius Antverpiæ, prol. habet unam.

Joannes Maius, compactor librorum, juvenis profectus in Flandriam.

Joannes Camphin, textor, sine liberis.

Joan. Beaugrand, tinctor, proles habet duas, quarum una hic est nata.

Joan. Aelbert, municeps, liberos habet 4 hic natos.

Joan. Zebedei, sportularius juvenis inserviens Anglo cuipiam.

Joan. Willhems, sportularius inserviens Anglo, sine liberis.

Joan. de Vriend, chyrgurgus, proles habet duas hic natas.

Joan. Celen, municeps, veteramentarius, prolem habet unam.

Joan. Hatron, faber tignarius, proles habet tres.

Joan. Celot, tapetarius in opere Reginæ, proles habet 2, una hic nata.

Joan. Emmens, calcearius juvenis.

Joan. Bromens.

Joan. Hooren.

Joan. Lamoot, nodifex, proles habet tres.

Joan. Erclé, calcearius, proles habet 3.

Joan. Cuytman, serarum bombardularumque confector, proles habet tres.

Joan. Heyseeck, textor, prol. habet unam.

Joan. van Houe, subsericarius, sine liberis.

Joan. van de Riuiere, municeps, sartor, proles habet 4, quarum una hic nata.

Joan. de Pruet, cacabarius senex, sine uxore et liberis.

Joan. Gudschalck, pennifex, proles habet 4.

Jacobus Claesson, chyrurgus cum Ludovico famulo, proles habet 3, quarum una hic nata.

Jacobus Bucerus, concionator, sine uxore.

Jac. Hendrickson, sportularius inserviens Anglo cuipiam.

Jac. van Aerke.

Jac. van Weerd, serarum confector, juvenis.

Jac. Blanckestein.

Jac. Aerle.

Jac. van Rauestein, sartor, prolem habet unam Anglam.

Jac. Marcelis, serrator, sine prole.

Jacobus Paulisse.

Jac. Robert.

Jac. de Blocq, textor, liberos habet 4 quorum unus hic natus.

Jac. Beloez, juvenis convivens et serviens patri.

Jac. Quaert, municeps, viduus filium habet unum hic natum.

Jeremias Ackerman, sacchararius, juvenis.

Justus Jaes, candelifex.

Justus Van den Walle.

Justus van der Muelen, sartor, juvenis.

Justus de Ram, compactor librorum, sine uxore et liberis.

Justus Broesens.

Jeronimus van Pottelsberghe, juvenis.

Jeron. Claes, juvenis.

Jasper Claes.

Jason de Stercke, prolem habet quinque.

L.

Ludovicus Thiry, municeps, pellis, proles habet tres, quarum duæ hic natæ.

Leyn de Muelenars, juvenis.

Lenardus Willhems, juvenis, cocus apud Stilleardos.

Laurentius Christiaen, sportularius. Lambertus Petersoon.

Lambertus Ecs.

Laur. van Brese, sacchararius apud Anglum juvenis.

M.

Martinus Janson, horologiarius, sine liberis.

Matthias Simonsoon, municeps, veteramentarius, prolem habet unam.

Mattheus Platenot, sartor, liberos habet quatuor, unum hic natum.

Matth. Makereel, textor, liberos habet duos.

Matth. Swinghedau, agricola.

Moses Jockingk, aurifaber juvenis.

Melchior van Esch.

N.

Nicolas van Wes, municeps, calcearius, liberos habet duos.

Nicolaus Rimme, sericarius, liberos habet duos hic natos.

Nic. Scherrier, veteramentarius.

Nic. Parmentier.

Nic. de Vriese.

Nic. Muys, sericarius, juvenis.

Nic. Knoeckaert, viduus, molitor, proles habet 4.

O, P.

Olivarius Moenens, pannitonsor, sine liberis.

Pet. Deloenus, verbi Minister, municeps sine liberis.

Petrus von Biloez, textor, proles habet 4.

Petrus Triven, pannifex, prolem habet unam hic natam.

Pet. von Slype, coctor cerevisiæ, sine liberis.

Petr. de Schoemacker.

Petr. Beeck.

Pet. de Mol, sericarius; pr. ht. 2, quar. 1 hic nata.

Pet. Michiels.
 Pet. de Turck, textor, sine prole.
 Pet. de Visscher, calcearius juvenis.
 Pet. de Brugghean, municeps,
 serrator, prol. ht. 4.
 Pet. Fenten, faber ferrarius, pr. ht.
 1 hic natam.
 Pet. Waller, pr. ht. unicam hic natam.
 Pet. van Rossel.
 Pet. Claerbout, hortularius, inservit
 D. Will. Picqueri cum uxore et
 liberis.
 Pet. Hormans, municeps, pilearius,
 pr. ht. 3.
 Pet. Bosset, pannifex, sine liberis.
 Pet. Vander Cleye, agricola, liberos
 ht. 2.
 Pet. de Meersman, sartor, cujus
 uxor hæret in Flandria.
 Philippus van Raue.
 Phil. Cockuytsaet, inuxoratus.
 Phil. Clans, tapetarius, pr. ht. 2,
 inservit Anglo cuipiam.
 Paulus de Cremere.
 Paul. Maes, serrator in opere
 Reginæ, sine liberis.
 Paul. Scherrier.
 Pasquier vander Mote, compactor
 librorum, sine liberis.

R.

Rolandus Hale.
 Rol. Annoot, textor, sine lib.
 Richardus Wervaers.
 Robertus Parens, juvenis.

S.

Simon Verwaest, collarius, pr. ht.
 2, quarum una hic nata.
 Simon Anthonius, juvenis famulatur
 cuidam mercatori.

Omnes qui se Ecclesiæ Germanicæ adjecerunt viri sunt fere 230 sub
 Philippo Rege Hispaniarum aut sub Duce Cluvæ nati.

Quorum maxima pars Evangelii nomine profugi patriam proscripti bonis
 maxima ex parte amissis dira et carceres perpessi huc tanquam ad asylum
 quoddam Reginæ fiducia freti confugerunt. Inter eos vero sunt 27
 municipes Regni ac supra 50 juvenes qui partim Anglis inserviant.
 Viduæ præterea sunt forte 12 numero, quarum quædam sunt municipes

Statius Rine, sericarius, sine lib.
 Sigerus van Scherburgh, juvenis.
 Sebastianus van Meenen, juvenis
 chyrurgus.
 Stephanus vander Muelen, pictor,
 filiam ht. hic natam.

T.

Theodoricus Bertins, duplator fili,
 proles ht. 2.
 Theodoricus Willhem, pileorum
 contextor, convivit Anglo cuidam.
 Theodoricus Kistemaker, arcularius.
 Theodoricus Nicolas.

U, V, W.

Urbanus Luninck.
 Will. Moelens, chyrurgus municeps,
 proles ht. 4.
 Will. Sadeler, municeps, aurifaber,
 uxorem ht. extra ecclesiam.
 Will. Pirman, municeps, sartor,
 proles ht. duas.
 Will. Schilder, calcearius, sine lib.
 Will. Seys, tormentularius, pr.
 ht. 2.
 Will. de Havie, aurifaber, sine lib.
 Will. van den Walle, viduus, faber
 tignarius, pr. ht. 2.
 Will. de Brand, sericarius, sine lib.
 Will. van Res, calcearius, prol. ht.
 unam.
 Will. Willhems, tormentularius,
 municeps, pr. ht. 2.
 Will. de Huysser, nodifex, sine lib.
 Will. Seys.
 Vedastus Melnede, candelifex, prol.
 ht. 2.
 Walterus van Helstmeere, celator,
 sine lib.

cum paucis liberis. Puellæ adultiores sunt ad summam 30: quarum quædam inserviunt Anglis. Uxores Anglorum sunt 3 aut 4. Pueri vero in tota Ecclesia qui pro Anglis non censentur, sunt circiter 139.

Hæc nos minister ac seniores Ecclesiæ Londinio Germanicæ testamur vera esse ac ita se habere 22 Junii, 1561.

Petrus Deloenus verbi minister in Ecclesia Londin. Germanica.

Jacobus Buerrus, senior in eadem Ecclesia Germanica.

Joannes Ingelramus, senior ejusdem Ecclesiæ.

Joannes Utinhovius, senior ejusdem Ecclesiæ.

Antonius Ashe, senior ejusdem Ecclesiæ.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

A.D. 1560-1562.

ELIZABETH was the only great man in her kingdom. Her ministers were strenuous men of the second order. She only had the divining eye in politics. Her annals are a mass of dead details, teaching no lesson, encumbering her historians. Intrigue succeeds intrigue; with France, with Spain, with Scotland; all cunning, hardened, and faithless: some of them merely dishonest, some criminal: in that age every country produces the same kind of worthless, cruel, and valiant leader. It was her art, but not her chief glory, to balance one mean ambition against another, and thwart all by aid of her own more dexterous instruments. At times she drew them right, and stopped some unscrupulous proposal at her council-board through magnanimity: but often she was dragged through the quags of statecraft by their notions of her interests. Even then she recovered herself by dint of an inherent consistency.

She would have refused to support the Scottish Congregation against the Queen Regent, and so avoided the inglorious little war that followed. When Mary of Guise died, it was she who supplied English vessels to carry home the veterans of France, who then left for ever the land which they had so often assisted against the arms of England. Thus she saw her advantage and joined it with humanity. On

the other hand it was she who sent out a fleet to kidnap Mary of Scotland, when she took her sad voyage from France to Scotland: or so it was vehemently suspected: an attempt of turpitude which wellnigh matches her father's design of kidnapping Mary's father on his own land. She knew the necessities of a public height better than her wonderful rival, whom she excelled in prudence; she never lost her dignity in her gaiety, and lived temperately amidst the luxuries of a prodigal court. And yet, so strange is human nature, Elizabeth may have been inferior in force of religious conviction to the unhappy Scottish Queen, who soon began to sink in crime and misfortune. Elizabeth, under Mary of England, sedulously went to Mass. Mary of Scotland, from the day that she arrived in her kingdom, braved the rage of the Congregation, and alienated half her subjects rather than abandon her Mass. There was some resemblance between her Mass and the Lady Mary's Mass in the reign of Edward the Sixth: for it was a woman against a realm in the latter, and almost the same in the former. But Mary of England met with the consideration of a brother and the respectful, if firm, expostulations of a Ridley. Mary of Scotland was confronted by Knox and the Congregation. The vials of Knox were poured upon her, and it is impossible not to lament his conduct: but, to do him justice, he was as unsparing of the vices of his own unscrupulous and turbulent partisans: and in the terrible years of the last half of the sixteenth century, if there is anything that raises the history of Scotland above perfidious intrigue and public calamity, it is the voice of Knox in St. Giles, and the dauntless and successful protestations of Knox's assistant, a priest named Craig, against some of the villanies of Bothwell.

In France the name of Huguenots began now to be applied to the disciples of Calvin. They had propagated their opinions to a prodigious extent: they had opened in Paris a place for their public worship, and a contagious example had been offered to Rouen, Orleans, and other important towns. They had organised consistories and held synods: their schism from the national Church of France assumed the appearance of a settled institution: a population of near two million sectaries demanded the attention of wisdom and patriotism. Unhappily a succession of miserable kings offered them the persuasions of persecution. From the first they were in secession: and as they were patroned by many of the greatest of the nobles, they were involved from the first in the malignant rivalries of their leaders with the leaders of the French Catholics. If the English principle had been adopted, to labour within for reformation, but never to secede nor permit secession, inestimable calamity would have been spared to France. Supported by her most spiritually-minded children, the Gallican Church might have maintained and even extended her liberties, which were in constant jeopardy: she might have crowned them by rejecting the Papal domination. There were means for this in the Parliamentary institutions, if a French king had ever been above the nobles and had been a man of great character. Attempts in this direction were made in the assemblies about this time, and so late in the Reformation it is curious to mark such rudiments as the proposed abolition of Annates, or of the control of the Pope over ecclesiastical appointments. When France was passing into the horror of her religious wars, there were manifest signs of intelligent independence which might have altered all her history. But the dread

faces of the pretended Peters faded not from her horizon. They grew more menacing. For their sake the congregations that met in the woods around Rouen to sing the Psalms of David were shot down by the Guisard soldiery, and the priests who preached to them were burned in the market-place or strangled in the gaol.

Europe was entering upon the most cruel period of her Christian annals, the mighty struggle of the Papacy to repair its losses, to stay them from extending. The Papacy was backed by the extraordinary complicity of the King of Spain, who now withdrew his presence from his northern realms, and, forgetting that the first duty of a king is to protect his subjects, turned the Peninsula, which he never again quitted, into one vast torture-chamber. Amazement filled the world to hear that this king had resigned his cities and villages to the uncontrolled domination of the Inquisition: to hear of his Acts of Faith, where fifty or a hundred at a time were roasted alive after unutterable previous torments and insults: that none was too high or too low to escape: that a whisper of two years before was known to bring to the carbonado. From that parched region he presently sent the engines of false Catholicity into his kingdom of the Netherlands, where they wrought vigorously, but not with the same success, meeting with armed opposition.

In Philip lay Elizabeth's opposite, rather than in any nearer rival. His principle, which he carried out to the ruin of Spain, was the exact contrary of the principle by which she raised England to greatness. She avowed at her coronation, in her own words, that she would be a good queen to her people. She never swerved from this principle, and her people understood it. This absolute difference was felt between these

rulers long before they met to fight it out on the high seas. Philip was warned again and again by his ambassadors that it was impossible to make a friend of Elizabeth. They wrote of her with extreme bitterness and mistrust, perceiving the hollowness of her affected or whimsical condescensions. "She has a hundred thousand devils in her body, and yet she talks to me of becoming a nun," said one of them. When a remark was made to her of the very great number of Flemings who were flocking to her out of the States on account of religion, she answered that they were all welcome, and that she, at least, would never fail them, adding a stinging allusion to the Spaniards, "their sweltering Indies and burning Spain."* And not to Philip only, but to every sovereign who manifested a share of Philip's spirit she showed herself opposed. One of the household of her ambassador in France having been demanded by the Inquisition there, she insisted on his privilege, with the message to the French King that she was not so void of the obedience of his subjects as to fear, to defend herself, and that being of the race of lions she could not sustain the person of a sheep.† She became regarded as the nurse of the freedom of the world: but the love of her own country stood first with her, gave her the renown, and indeed enabled her to discharge, so far as she did, the duties of the wider obligation.

The new Pope, Pius the Fourth, a Medici, a man of address and resolution, thought to be addicted to Spain, had taken the chair with an engagement or

* Quadra to Feria, *Spanish Cal.*, p. 118. Thirty thousand Flemings are said to have come into England in Elizabeth's reign. The same number of persons are said to have been burned alive in Spain, from first to last I suppose.

† *For. Cal.*, Dec. 1560, p. 442.

“capitulation” to hold a Council. The matter went on for two years or more before it issued in the reassembling of the Council of Trent. His intention was doubtful: to wait an opportunity, to hasten, retard, or even dismiss the project. His language was ambiguous: he spoke of the Council, but he might mean a new one, or a confirmation of that convention which had already conspired against Christian liberty for twenty years: and he found no unanimous opinion among the powers that still remained in his obedience. It was a crisis in the Papacy: which was to try the strength of the Ultramontane claims. The new Pope reversed the policy of his predecessor with happy results. The late Pope had nearly lost the Empire: the new Pope secured the adhesion of Ferdinand by prudence and spirit. The Emperor’s son, Maximilian of Bohemia, was suspected of Lutheranism: the new Pope told him that the Lutheranism of the day was further departed from the Roman Church than the Augsburg Confession;* and reclaimed him by argu-

* “I showed him,” said Hosius, Bishop of Worms, the Pope’s Nuncio, “a Catechism in which was contained *Cæna Domini est Sacramentum, seu Divinum signaculum, quo Christus vere præsens offert ac donat panem et vino Corpus et Sanguinem suum*. Now, said I, the author of this was puzzled by the variations of the Augsburg Confession: which at first had *sub speciebus panis et vini*, then *in* and *sub panem*, then *cum panem*. So he has omitted all the prepositions, that the reader might add whichever of them he would. And further, as he could not do this in German, which requires a preposition, he has, in the German, totally omitted the sign: and writes (in German), *Hoc est Cæna Domini, et Sacramentum, et divinum signaculum, in quo Christus vere præsens veraciter nobis Corpus et Sanguinem suum exhibet*. He gives, you see, neither the Catholic *speciem panis et vini*, nor the Lutheran *panem et vinum*: no description of the sign at all. The king stared. I then remarked that though it was proposed at the Naumburg gathering that all the Protestant princes should again subscribe to the Augsburg Confession, yet those Protestant princes were nearly all departed from the first edition of the Augsburg Confession in divers points, but especially as it regarded the Eucharist: for the doctrine therein was plainly Catholic; it was *sub*

ments not untinged with threats. The Duke of Savoy requested a religious colloquy to be held between some Catholic theologians and his Waldensian subjects, who were lately passed to him from the dominion of the French: the new Pope offered to send him a Legate, advising him, and not in vain, that a war would be better than a colloquy. The Gallican clergy, headed by Bishop Monluc of Valence, exclaiming: "Are not Saone and Marne, rivers of France, enough to quench the flames of Paris that we should fetch the waters of Tiber?" designed to compose their own affairs by a national synod: the new Pope sent a messenger among them, and worked another messenger on them through Spain, that a national synod would be a schism, that they should wait for the Council.* The new Pope sent messengers announcing the design of the Council to most of the princes in the summer: but it was not before November that the Bull was actually drafted. He walked barefoot in procession with all the Cardinals to pray for unity, promising absolution *a pœna et culpa*

speciebus panis et vini, not in *sub* or *cum pane et vino*. Hence their doctrine was never impeached by Catholics, nor apologetically defended by Melancthon. The king went and fetched his copy of the first edition of the Augsburg, and found exactly as I said. Now, proceeded I, if these Protestants now met at Naumburg subscribe to the genuine Augsburg Confession, which was presented to the Emperor Charles, they must reject Luther's *in pane* and *sub pane*, and Calvin's *cum pane*, and keep to the Catholic *sub speciebus panis et vini*: and I cannot think that they will do it. Nor I, said the king, for they are nearly all Calvinians."—Hosius to Card. Borromeo, Raynald. sub an. 1560, xvi. (p. 53). The reference is to the great meeting of the Protestant princes at Naumburg in Thuringia, to renew the Augsburg Confession.

* It is not uninteresting to observe that Raynaldus calls Monluc "pseudoeписcopus" (p. 74). The Bishop of Valence was one of the celebrated ecclesiastics of his age, and about this time greatly employed in the negotiations between England and Scotland, both of which countries he visited. Of his Orders there was no question, and yet he is "pseudoeписcopus," because he stood for the Gallican liberties! This is the way of them.

to all who would return to his obedience; and committed the Bull to the composition of two Cardinals.* When it reached the princes, to whom it seems to have been sent by other Nuncios, it gave little satisfaction. It was a double-tongued Bull, from which it was difficult to gather whether it were to be a new Council or not. Philip turned from his holocausts, demanding why it expressed not clearly that Trent was to be continued: and at first refused to receive or publish it. The French King replied that the ambiguity must be corrected before he would receive it.† The Emperor sent the two Nuncii who brought him the Bull to the great meeting of the Protestants at Naumburg, saying that he must be guided to some extent by their decision. The Protestants, who were gathered at Naumburg for the solemn renewal of the Augustan Confession, received the Nuncii with great civility, but returned them their papers unopened.‡ The Bull was carried

* *For. Cal.*, Nov. 23, 1560, p. 402.

† So Sarpi, but there are various accounts. See e.g. Giannetti of Venice to Queen Eliz., Aug. 1560, *Ib.* 211; and his still more important letter of December, *Ib.* 430.

‡ The answer of the Protestant princes at Naumburg to the two Nuncii (or Legates) is in a printed pamphlet in the Record Office, see *Ib.* p. 540 (Feb. 7, 1561). It contains the following remarks: That many good men desired a better condition of the Church: that the Roman pontiffs should especially endeavour after this, who arrogate to their church the name of the Church: but that they have done no such thing. The princes wonder what induced the Pope to obtrude his summons upon them: “neque enim ipsum Pontificem et vos ignorare quam Religionem Status Augustanæ Confessionis amplectantur”; and why they were forced to hold aloof “ab eo Cœtu qui oppressa doctrinæ celestis veritate, suam potius quam Christi gloriam quærit.” The princes take it that the Nuncii and the Pope admit that they do not accept the Pope’s authority, and they are sure that he has no right to call a Council. “Injuste etiam oratione vestra sese taxari Illustr. Principes affirmant, quod nullam fidei certitudinem habeant, sed tot nunc sint Evangelia quot Doctores, tot religiones quot voluntates: extat enim non solum de omnibus fidei Articulis perspicua ipsorum Confessio Carolo V. Augustæ anno 1530 exhibita, verum etiam variis hactenus editis scriptis celestis

by a Nuncio to no purpose into Poland, with design to go even into Muscovy, where the Pope had never been acknowledged. It travelled to the confines of Denmark: but the King of Denmark shut it out. A Papal emissary went into Scotland, and a Nuncio would have followed, to invite the Queen of Scots to send representatives to the Council: for the revolt of Scotland was a new calamity which troubled the Pope sorely.* A Nuncio made his way into Ireland from Brittany.† For England itself was designated a Nuncio in Vincenzo Parpalia before the Bull was framed: when the Bull was ready, another agent, named Jerome Martinengo, was chosen to bring it. England was also traversed by the papalist emissary Morette, who went into Scotland.

Parpalia, Abbot of St. Salute, no stranger to England, formerly of the suite of Pole, had his way carefully prepared. The Pope wrote previously to the Spanish ambassador, Quadra, in London to do all that he could.‡ And on the day that he gave his letters to his intended Nuncio he wrote to the Emperor, to the King of Spain, and to the Queen of England herself. "Assist me, Ferdinand, to maintain in the unity of the Church Catholic a realm so lately recovered. Write to this queen: send ambassadors to her, and tell her that she shall have from me whatever she may deem requisite to confirm her in her

doctrinæ veritas illustrata et explicata est." They conclude, "Cumque non errore lapsi, nec temeritate, curiositate, aut pravis cupiditatibus: sed severissimo Dei mandato, quo præcipitur idola fugienda esse, impulsu Germani principes a Romana Ecclesia discesserint, constanter in ea sententia perseveraturi sunt, nec ullas sibi a Pontifice leges præscribi patientur." Feb. 7, 1561. Cf. *For. Cal.*, p. 540.

* His name was Morette: Parpalia was to have been the Nuncio to follow him.—*Span. Cal.* 219, 224, 253. See below.

† *Ib.* 210.

‡ March 10, 1560.—Raynald., p. 74.

kingdom.”* “Philip, how great thy share in the reconciliation of Mary’s kingdom is sounded by the praise of all: indeed, much of it was the work of thy piety. Now thou art kept free from foreign wars and enemies that thou mayest devote thyself to exterminating heresies, and extinguishing that intestine war of the Church. Add to thy labours the noble task of purging England from heretical pravity: nothing will better befit the Catholic king.” “Elizabeth, our dearest daughter, how much we desire to aid thee is known to Him who searches the heart. Avoid evil counsellors: know the time of thy visitation. We send thee a man known to thee, to us most trusted, Vincen-tius Parpalia, will tell thee all our mind. Thou art promised by us everything that concerns thy soul’s salvation and the confirmation of thy royal dignity, according to our authority and place.† Return to the bosom of the Church: bring thy nation with thee: rejoice the hearts of all our brethren, who are soon to meet in an œcumenical and general council for the abolition of heresies. About this matter Vincentius will tell thee more: receive him, and listen to him, as if it were to ourself.”‡

Parpalia began to come from Rome, well equipped with money, and with high expectation. The Pope had been led to enter on the project by the discontented English in Rome. Italy believed that the

* “Saluti suæ et regno simul hac occasione oblata consulat, impetratura a nobis quidquid ad stabiliendum regnum suum esse duxerit postulandum, quod quidem secundum Deum a nobis concedi possit.” —Raynald., p. 74.

† “Ad dignitatem tuam regiam stabiliendam et confirmandam, pro auctoritate, pro loco ac munere, quod nobis a Deo commissum fuit.”

‡ These three letters were all written May 5, 1560. See them in Raynaldus as above. The one to Elizabeth is given by Heylin, Collier, Soames, and Lingard. Versions of them all are given by the late Mr. Stevenson in *For. Cal.*, p. 42.

people of Elizabeth "drew not all by one string" in the alteration of religion. The Pope committed the question to the consideration of four Cardinals, of whom one was the surviving friend of Pole, Morone, whom he had taken out of the prison of St. Angelo, where Paul had lodged him on charge of heresy, and whom he had made his chief adviser.* When on this persuasion he resolved to send a Nuncio, he was not deterred by the opposition of those who held it beneath the dignity of the Holy See to send to schismatics, nobly replying that it became him to be humbled for the good of souls. Parpalia's movements were closely observed and reported in England.† He went first into France, whence after no long stay he sailed down the Rhine from Spiers to Cologne, and on to Louvain and Brussels, by the middle of June. Many English, friars and others, went to Brussels to meet and welcome him.‡ But in a month he received a discouraging letter from the Spanish ambassador in England, Quadra; who also informed his master that the Queen was dissatisfied with the person of the Nuncio.§

* Sheres at Venice to Cecil, May 11, 1560.—*For. Cal.*, p. 43. Throckmorton in France to the Queen.—*Ib.* 156. It was Englefield, the well-known friend of Queen Mary, who is said to have caused the Pope to think that England might be recovered by sending a Nuncio.—*Span. Cal.*, p. 162.

† The old Roman resident Carne wrote to inform the Queen of his departure from Rome.—*For. Cal.* 100. Parry told Cecil the same.—*Ib.* Gresham at Antwerp told Parry the same.—*Ib.* 119.

‡ Gresham to Parry.—*Ib.* 136. At Antwerp the people ridiculed his errand. Old Lady Dormer, mother of the Countess Feria, refused to speak to him at Louvain.—*Ib.* 155.

§ Quadra to Philip, July 25.—*Span. Cal.* 170. Parpalia was in the French interest against the Spanish. Philip had tried to have him discharged, and another Nuncio appointed, before he left Rome: and put delay in his way at Brussels. Bishop Quadra thought him bad. "If the Pope is really going to send an envoy here, I wish it were any one rather than this abbé, who is a staunch Frenchman, and considered tricky here. He is unpopular, as he was a servant of Cardinal Pole, and they ought to send a modest learned man."—*Span. Cal.* 159.

He stayed three months in Brussels, recreating himself with a visit to Antwerp. He then wrote into England, perhaps to Cecil, a somewhat impertinent letter: that he had little hope of his embassy, seeing that the Queen was keeping the Catholic bishops in prison, perhaps out of umbrage at him; but that, as she had expressed a high opinion of the present Pope, he still waited to discharge his embassy.* No answer was returned to this effusion: and the Papal agent, after lingering some time longer in Brussels, at length, in November, abandoned his mission, and retiring towards Rome through France, delivered himself to the Cardinal of Lorraine at Orleans of "a very lewd discourse of the Queen, her religion, and proceedings."† He is said to have been a man of little learning.

It has been affirmed that through Parpalia the Pope

* "Quello poi, che sia per seguire della mia andata alla detta Regina, et del fiatto che possa partorire la mia ambasciata, io ne spero molto poco, poi ch' io vedo che la detta Regina ha fatto ritenere pregioni tutti li vescovi et li alteri Theologi Cattolici del suo regno, forse piu per l'ombra che ha preso di questa mia ambasciata, che non fosse per dare animo alli Cattolici. Si quali sotto questo favore non fossero per dare alcuna sollevatione, che per altra causa, nondimeno essa Regina dice tuttavia, che ha molto buona opinione della mente del presente Papa, si che però non è per negar mai di oldire (udire?) volentieri quello che novva dirle, sperando che non vogli da lei, se non cosa che sia giusta, et vide per lei, et per il suo Regno. Imperò aspetto che mi sia comandato quello, che haverò da fare, et desidero di potermi sbrigare di questa mia ambasciata avanci che venga l'invernata se puo sarà possibile di confare."—*For. Pap. Eliz.*; cf. *Cal.*, p. 289. This letter is described by Stevenson as addressed to the Queen: but it cannot have been so. The letter goes on to speak of insignificant affairs no way connected with his embassy, just as if he had been one of the Queen's own agents. Brussels, Sept. 8, 1560.

† Throckmorton to the Queen, Nov. 28, 1560.—*For. Cal.* 409. The Queen had seen Parpalia's brief, which had been sent to her from Toledo by her agent Chamberlain.—*Id.*, p. 418. She is said to have signified indirectly that she would not be averse to sending a representative to a general Council; but she would not have Parpalia embroiling the Romanensians in her kingdom.

offered to confirm the English Prayer Book, provided that his authority were acknowledged, and the book formally accepted from his hand. Of the good will of the Pope, of his desire to keep England reconciled, of his zeal for the salvation of souls, there is no question: his efforts to make the Council which he proposed general or œcumenical were extraordinary. But no good can come from Rome beyond good will. There is no sign that Pius the Fourth ever proposed terms that could be debated or arranged between the Papacy and the churches that had broken from it: that it ever occurred to him to yield any part of his enormous pretensions, or suffer any part to be proposed for question. His very summoning of a Council asserted his claim to be above princes, and deprived the Council that he summoned of the character of free and general, which he would have desired for it. As to the purpose of such a Council, he frankly said that it was for extirpating heresies: that is, for the creation of new heresies by means of new definitions, to brand more deeply by that infamously misused name the communities and kingdoms on which it was already illicitly stamped. There is no sign that he faltered in the claim of universal bishop, his own communion the whole and only Church: or that he abandoned the principle of persecution, if through prudence he somewhat slackened the practice in his own capital.* A man of seventy, grown old in official life, he was not likely to depart from the traditions of his place to propose terms of accommodation to the heretic Queen of England at the time when he exhorted her to

* When the chief Inquisitor of his predecessor asked for three months of absence, "Go away," said the Pope, laughing, "not only for three months, but for the rest of your life, if you will." Nevertheless he set up the Inquisition again at Rome, which the populace had destroyed and scattered.

absolute surrender. All that he is known to have said to her was: "Return into the bosom of the Church and I will say that you are not a bastard: and then come to my Council for extirpating heresy."* Nor appears it, though it has been so affirmed, that Parpalia had any such proposal to make. His own letter to the Queen is too vague to found anything particular upon it.†

* This was the meaning of the phrases in his letters about confirming the kingdom and the dignity of Elizabeth. So Sanders understood them. "Si quidem esset de quo sibi propter incertos natales ab Ecclesia vel Pontifice, quoad jus regnandi, metueret, sedis Apostolicæ benignitate facile transigi posse diceret (Nuncius)."—*Schism*, p. 288 (1628).

† There is no contemporary evidence of such an offer. The earliest mention of it is eleven years later, in 1571. It occurs in a dispatch from Walsingham relative to the projected marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, and the scruples entertained by the mother of the latter, Catherine de Medici, concerning the English service instead of the Mass for her son. Walsingham told the Queen-mother that the Duke would be merely required to forbear his Mass and be content with the English form, which, as he was informed, the Pope was willing to have confirmed as Catholic. "I shewed her that sudden change was not required (the same being referred over to God, whose office it is to change hearts) but only the forbearing of his Mass, and to content himself with the form of our prayers; whereof I shewed her I had delivered a copy unto Mons. de Foix: which form of prayers, madam, quoth I, the Pope, as I am informed, would have by council confirmed as Catholic, so the Q. my mistress would have acknowledged the same as received from him." In the margin there is a note by Walsingham himself, "an offer made by the Cardinal of Lorraine, as Sir N. Throckmorton shewed me" (f. 138). To Burleigh, Louviers, June 21, 1571.—*For. Cal.*, p. 477. This is indirect: it is what Walsingham said that Throckmorton showed him that the Cardinal of Lorraine had offered. How, when, where, that powerful and unscrupulous ecclesiastic made the offer, is left. If it was at the time of Parpalia's mission, it cannot have been on the Pope's authority, for Lorraine was not then in the Pope's confidence. And yet it could scarcely have been later. The next mention of it, often cited by the older historians, is in Camden, whose *History of Elizabeth* was published posthumously in 1618. He mentions it only as a public rumour. "Fama obtinet Pontificem fidem dedisse sententiam contra matris nuptias tanquam injustam rescissurum, Liturgiam Anglicam sua auctoritate confirmaturum, et usum Sacramenti sub utraque specie Anglis permissurum, dummodo illa Romanæ Ecclesiæ se aggregaret, Romanæque Cathedræ Primatum agnosceret, imo et hæc curantibus aliquot aureorum millia fuisse promissa."

It is not indeed impossible that Elizabeth's Prayer Book, in the Latin version, may have been in the hands of Pope Pius in the first part of the year 1560, at the beginning of his pontificate and of the agitation of the Council. The Latin Prayer Book had been ready in the August before, though the publication was in April.* If so, he perused a work which may have pleased him. He beheld a Calendar as full of saints as his own; and he could not know how widely

p. 73, *s. an.* 1560. The next is Coke's Norwich Charge, delivered in 1606: which is usually quoted by the older historians. But this refers not to the matter at all, but to something subsequent under the following Pope: though "Pius V." has been explained as a mere slip of the pen for Pius IV. It can hardly be so. The Charge has it that the Pope, "before the time of his excommunication against Queen Elizabeth denounced, sent his letter unto her majesty, in which he did allow the Bible and Book of Divine Service, as it is now used among us, to be authentic and not repugnant to truth: but that therein is contained enough necessary to salvation, though there was not so much in it as reasonably might be: and that he would allow it unto us without changing any part so that her majesty would acknowledge to receive it from the Pope and by his allowance, which her majesty denying to do, was then presently by the same Pope excommunicated. And this is the truth concerning Pope Pius V. as I have faith in God and man. I have oftentimes heard avowed by the late Queen her own words, and I have conferred with some lords that were of the greatest reckoning in the State, who had seen and read the letter which the Pope sent to that effect, and have by me been specified. And this upon my credit, as I am an honest man, is most true." Coke furiously repudiated the printed version of his Charge, containing this: it was surreptitiously put forth by "one Pricket," and impudently dedicated to the Earl of Exeter, Coke's father-in-law: it was "an erroneous and ill-spelled pamphlet, wherein there is not one period in that sort and sense that I delivered it": and he hints that it was done by an enemy.—*Reports*, Part vii. *Preface*. After Coke comes Sir Rog. Twysden, who says that he himself had received the same account "from persons of nigh relation unto them that were actors in the management of the business."—*Histor. Vind. of the Ch. of Engl.*, ch. ix. The reader can judge for himself the worth of all this as evidence.

* "The Book of Common Service in Latin is now in perfection: would that Cecil would put his authority to the setting it to the printer." Mason to Cecil, Aug. 11, 1559.—*S. P. For. Cal.* 468. Cf. *S. P. Dom. Cal.* 136. It is said that Wolf brought out an edition in 1559.—*Liturgic Serv.*, Park. Soc., Clay's Pref. xxiv.

herein the version varied from the original.* He found nothing offensive to himself; no startling rubrics and denunciations; for several which might have startled him had been silently dropped, and left no trace. But it would be ridiculous to suppose that because the Pope may have read the book, the book was written for the Pope to read; or that the Queen besigned, as some say, to exhibit her reformation in a fair aspect to the foreign world. Her purpose was, what she said, to provide her Universities and Schools with a Latin Use: and she employed the fine pen of Walter Haddon upon the previous version of Alexander Aless. Some redundant or inaccurate expressions in Aless were corrected, and some alterations were made on principle, and Haddon was thrown upon himself at times by differences between Elizabeth's Prayer Book and the First Book of Edward, which was what Aless rendered. Haddon's chief piece was the preface "Concerning Ceremonies," which he retranslated.† There was added a brief office for the Com-

* In the Calendar of Elizabeth's *Liber Precum Publicarum* there is a saint for every day, or nearly so. But this was not a mere replacement of the old Calendar. There were some designed changes and omissions. The Flemish saints, Vedastus, Amondas, and Bavon, were omitted. St. Thomas of Canterbury was omitted. St. Alphege of Canterbury was inserted. St. Augustine of Canterbury was substituted for St. Cletus. The Invention of the Cross was omitted. All the Translations were either omitted, or the saint only retained: and this caused the greater part of the few blank days. The Appearing of St. Michael was omitted. The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin was omitted. The day of St. Petri ad Vincula was inserted. All Souls was omitted. St. Linus of Rome was added. O Sapientia was omitted. I have compared this Calendar with the Calendar in Marshall's *Primer*.

† In Haddon's spirited version of *De Ceremoniis* may be observed a bold amplification of national independence. "And in those our doings we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe anything but to our own people only," is turned, "At dicent aliqui fortasse: Quo sese jactabit haec audacia? Ecquid prescribetis religionis formas et effigies peregrinis? Neutiquam. Nam neque consuetas illorum ceremonias reprehendimus,

mendations of Benefactors, a reformed edition, that is, of the old office for commending the souls of benefactors to the Almighty, which was generally used at the end of terms. The custom was continued, but thanks were substituted for prayers. There was another brief office for the celebration of the Eucharist at funerals, the friends desiring it. This had a collect taken with some alteration from the Burial Office.* The Latin Prayer Book was not accepted with delight at Cambridge.

The wide rumour, which arose after some years, of the Pope offering to sanction the English Prayer Book was founded partly upon his overtures concern-

neque inducimus novas, utpote quibuscum nihil nobis commercii est; de nostris hominibus duntaxat sumus solliciti." Haddon substitutes "minister" for "sacerdos," or adds it to the "sacerdos" of Aless; "Deinde Minister dicet" for "Sacerdos deinde addat" in Morning; "Sacerdos sive Minister dicet" for "Sacerdos oret" in Evening. But he retains "Sacerdos" when he finds it elsewhere, as in the Communion. In the Absolution of the Holy Communion Service he deliberately repeats the audacity of Aless, giving a form that is in no English Book, but derived from Hermann's *Consultatio*, and expressed in high sacerdotal language. See Clay's Preface, and cf. Vol. III. p. 297 of this work. In the Litany, he restored the full English form of the first solemn Precations, and altered "Ut omnibus Christianis" into "Ut omnibus Gentibus" in one of the petitions. Other points to be noted are these. The Ornaments rubric is omitted in the Latin: in the General Confession rubric "after the minister" is omitted in the Latin: the rubric "The minister first pronouncing with a loud voice, The Lord be with you," is omitted in the Latin. "Unto New Year's Day" is "ad Circumcisionem": in Holy Communion, "the Table shall stand in the body of the Church, or in the Chancel, where morning and evening prayer be appointed to be said" is omitted: "the priest shall proceed saying, Lift up your hearts," is "Minister cantabit": in the words "Hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries, as pledges of His love and continual remembrance of His death, to our great and endless comfort," in one of the Exhortations, Haddon boldly kept to Aless and to Edward's First Book, "et reliquit in his sacris mysteriis, quasi pignus amoris et perpetuum monumentum suum, scilicet proprium Corpus et preciosum Sanguinem, ut ex his spiritualiter pascamur et haberemus aeternam consolationem."

* "In generali resurrectione, extremo die, nos cum hoc fratre nostro resuscitati, et receptis corporibus, regnemus una tecum in vita aeterna."

ing the Council, partly upon the attention which the Latin version of the Prayer Book excited upon the Continent. The formulary of the Church of England was rendered accessible to learned foreigners for the first time under her own authority (which the previous performance of Aless lacked); it was read extensively, not without admiration, in France, and probably in other countries: and was perceived to present the model of more moderate and consistent reformatations than any other. The Gallicans found it less repugnant than Geneva, and liked it better than Germany. A learned Gallican of great reputation told Throckmorton at Paris that the English clergy should defend their ceremonies, rites, and observances, retained in their churches, by the authority of Greek and Latin antiquity. The remark was that of a man who had only read one book, the Latin Prayer Book itself, and knew not how much had been done already in the way of defence or apology by such men as Cranmer. A learned man of the religion said to the same keen and intrepid agent that it would be well for Cecil to set some of the bishops and doctors to write in Latin an exposition of the whole English ecclesiastical order, in modest style, avoiding to irritate: and that there was a good pattern of this in the Preface of the Book of Service now published in Latin. "Gather out of antiquity," said this adviser, "the places which are for your ceremonies: put forth an apology: you are not noted in England as contemners of all antiquity and ceremonies: you will have more estimation among the adversaries than the novelties of Geneva. Those Genevan ministers bring themselves into contempt: they are noted rather as spoilers than builders: they pull down the old building, both good and bad stuff, and leave the world without a covered house, unless it be

some hovels hastily set up to keep themselves dry. The ecclesiastical forms retained in England will therefore have the more allowance when the matter shall come in question."* Thus in the sixteenth century the Church of England had for a moment the prospect of becoming the mediate link or bond of reunion among the divisions of Christendom.

Morette, ambassador of the Duke of Savoy to the Scottish Queen, passing through England, had two interviews with Elizabeth concerning the Council. He came indeed at the instance of Cardinal Ferrara to endeavour to persuade her to send representatives: induced, it was said, by the Earl of Bedford having declared in France that she desired the Council to be held. He met with no encouragement. When he offered to discuss the question with the Spanish ambassador, Quadra, she said that there was no need to speak of it to him or any one else, as it might cause uneasiness in the country. He handed her a letter from Ferrara, and she said that she would answer it through her ambassador Throckmorton. He afterwards opened the matter to Quadra, in whose presence he proved that it was true of Bedford: and Bedford himself affirmed that he spoke by the Queen's instructions. Bedford even ventured to remind the Queen of this: who merely replied that things were changed since then. Morette departed, expressing himself satisfied to have secured his own position; not without anxiety: for it was he who had brought Bedford's sayings to the Pope, and so induced him to try again to land a Nuncio in England.†

* See the important letter of Throckmorton to Cecil (Paris, Dec. 28, 1561).—*For. Cal.* 461.

† See Quadra's Letters, *Span. Cal.* 218–24. Morette came in Nov. 1561, and left in the following February. Most of that time he was in Scotland. The Earl of Bedford was sent to France on an embassy

The Abbé Martinengo, this emissary, came into Flanders bearing the Bull of the Council. Arriving at Brussels in the spring of 1561, he put himself under direction of the Bishop of Arras, to whom the cautious Quadra wrote from London to detain him until preparation could be made for the better reception of the mission. Not considering that it would be very safe for a Nuncio, when he should come, to pass to and fro along the streets of London, the Spanish ambassador took a lodging for him at Greenwich, whither the Queen was expected to go, so that he might negotiate quickly and easily. At this time Bedford's sayings were in the wind: and it was thought by many that the Queen would not refuse the Council. Her favourite, the worthless Robert Dudley, who was in the Spanish interest, was informed by Quadra, the Spanish ambassador, of the Pope's renewed effort, of the name of the Nuncio chosen, of his own hopes of the speedy coming permitted. Dudley answered that Cecil was for the Council, and that some of the bishops were bending, though others were stubborn against it, adding that if he married the Queen he would go to the Council himself.* Quadra seems to have thought that England might be recovered through Robert Dudley. He now solicited a safe conduct for Martinengo: and the question engaged the special attention of the Privy Council. A meeting was held at Greenwich, May 1, attended by Bacon, Cecil, and the other

of condolence on the King's death. In debating English affairs with the Queen-mother and her Council he said that the intention of the Queen his mistress was to end religious differences in England by sending her theologians to the General Council, but that it was necessary for security and freedom that it should meet on this side of the mountains: in which case she offered to unite with the Most Christian King in a firm alliance, that the business might be carried out without coercion.—*Ib.*, p. 186.

* Quadra's letters in *Span. Cal.*, pp. 186, 193, 195.

great officers, in which every one spoke, some with "much more earnestness and length of speech" than appeared in the account put forth, and all agreed that the Nuncio should not come for reasons given:* that the Pope had not informed the Queen of the convocation of the Council, as he had informed other sovereigns, that the Pope's emissary whom he had sent into Ireland had caused the great part of the island to rise in arms, and that a similar insurrection was to be feared if another were admitted into

* An authorised account of this meeting of the Privy Council was drawn up; pretty copious. They first gave reasons for refusing the Nuncio: that by the ancient laws of the land no Legate or Nuncio might come without license, nor before taking oath on the other side of the sea to bring nothing, to attempt nothing to the derogation of the crown and liberties of the realm: that in old time there were examples of the Pope's messengers imprisoned and his letters burned, as well as of license to come upon oath given, the last being Friar Peto in Mary's reign: that it was by colour of the Pope's laws that attempts were made to disprove the Queen's title: that the mere noise or sound of a Nuncio had caused great disquiet among the ill-affected subjects. They thus supposed answers to their reasons, and answered these answers: that if the Nuncio took the oath he would not keep it, "presuming that it is no perjury to break his promise with such as he is taught to repute as heretics": that there would be danger of subverting the whole policy of the realm: that it was absurd to think that no harm was meant by the Pope, when he had already done as much as in him lay, and at that moment had a Legate in Ireland stirring a rebellion: that last year, when the other abbot was at Brussels, it was proposed that he should have done his best to stir rebellion under colour of religion. Of the proposed Council they spoke at length, to the effect that the Queen would delight in a good general Council; but that the one now intended was not so, if it was a continuation of Trent, as appeared by printed copies of certain Bulls of last November and December: concluding that in this matter the Queen had not been treated with such good meaning as was professed; since other princes had been long consulted, and their opinions requested as to time and place, and their consents desired beforehand: but that now, when all was appointed, at last she was to be exhorted "by such a messenger as this" to send to the Council. There was nothing herein but "a determination to prejudice her majesty and her realm, and to establish and confirm the authority of the Pope with all his abuses and errors."—A Note of the Consultation had at Greenwich, May 1, 1561, &c. Printed in full in Tierney's *Dodd*, vol. ii. App. 48. Cf. *State Papers, Dom. Cal.*, p. 175.

England. When the first of these reasons was reported abroad, the Papal Nuncio in Paris went in the Pope's name to the Queen's ambassador there, Throckmorton, to tell him that the very cause for which it was sought to send a Nuncio to England was to invite the Queen to the Council, as other Christian princes had been invited. Throckmorton promised to write with all possible warmth: but his sincerity was suspected.* The Pope's representation of this matter was no explanation, and came too late, if it ever came at all. Martinengo had received his prohibition, and abandoned his mission, at the beginning of May.

There can be no doubt that Elizabeth had been dazzled for a moment by the supposed indiction of a new Council, even though the latter of the Papal agents fared as the former. [She let it go forth that she was not averse to a Council, if it were both free and general: that she would send her theologians on equal terms to such a Council: with stipulation touching the place where it might be held.] So she said to Quadra; so she sent Bedford to say to France. It may have been because she was thought to be somewhat committed that Cecil found it necessary to hold high language about the Bull of the Council, of which he had procured a copy by some means. In several curious interviews with Quadra he complained of the style that was used in it; and protested in general against the insulting words that were spoken and written about the English, as if they

* *Ven. Cal.* 315, 318. It is the Venetian ambassador in France who relates all this to the Doge and Senate: so roundabout was the way in which English news was conveyed. He adds that Throckmorton was "the most cruel adversary that the Catholic religion has in that kingdom." —*Ib.* 333. Throckmorton in fact was doing all he could to prevent France from appearing at the Council.

were not Christians or believers in God. He also put it to the Spanish bishop that there might be other ways of coming to an accommodation besides the visit of a Nuncio; but they were ways that were not likely to be acceptable to Rome. Would it not be well, he asked, to have some theologians sent here on the Pope's behalf to confer with the English theologians upon Christian doctrine? Quadra answered that he thought it not a wise expedient, or likely to produce any good: but only to cause greater offence and obstinacy. Cecil then asked him whether he would consent to meet the Archbishop of Canterbury to open negotiations for reconciliation. "Yes, if you please," said Quadra. In a following interview, however, the Secretary told Quadra that the Archbishop feared to meet him, lest it should be noted as suspicious by the other bishops:* asking at the same time what could be done about religious affairs. Quadra replied that if he, or the Queen, or the Archbishop demanded his opinion, he would tell them the truth, as he understood it, although he

* Strype gives an account of this proposed conference. Quadra proposed that it should be at Cecil's house rather than that Parker should come to him or he go to Parker. The Archbishop disliked this, when Cecil told him of it: saying that Quadra would come prepared, and he himself would be unprepared and away from his books; but that he would be willing to hold a conference in writing. He wrote a letter to Cecil to that effect, asking him to excuse his "cowardliness," and burn his letter. In fact Parker was unready of speech, and afraid, if he undertook such a business, lest he "should work a lack to his promoters and a shame to himself." He begged Cecil to shield him from all such encounters. Cecil kept the letter, which came into the hands of Strype, who held it no dishonour to the Archbishop to print it.—Strype's *Parker*, Observations at end of vol. iv. and App. 106. Parker was right on all grounds in refusing, and very honest in putting his refusal on the ground that he did. He says pathetically that he had "a natural vitiosity of overmuch shamefastness." Cecil was at least friendly enough to tell Quadra only of the other plea that he brought, that "it would be strangely construed among the light brethren in divers respects."

was not in charge of religion in England. He then went on to give his opinion, that if there were an earnest desire of peace and union, the points of difference should be considered first, being the cause of the schism and division which existed. He defined these points to be those concerning ecclesiastical government and polity, namely, the office of Pope and of bishops, the authority of councils, and the distinction between spiritual and temporal powers. In the long conversation which ensued, he claimed that Cecil conceded three points, which he himself held as of the utmost importance: that the Queen would consent to send envoys and theologians to the Council, even if the Pope convoked it, provided it were in a place satisfactory to the other princes; that the Pope, or his Legates, might preside at it, as head or president, not as ruler; and that questions of faith might come before it, as well as other questions, according to Holy Scripture, the consent of doctors, and the declarations of ancient Councils, of which ancient Councils, however, only the first four were to be admitted. He allowed that Cecil "much twisted these points to the other side." Cecil told him that his aim was evident: to have a judge for matters of faith, and to declare the separation of the spiritual and temporal powers. "As the English bishops are canonically ordained," proceeded Cecil, "they must have seats in the Council among the rest."* That the justice of that claim could be

* The late Mr. Froude, with whom I have been compelled to disagree very often, gives this, with quotation marks, thus: "That the English bishops, having been apostolically ordained, and not merely elected by a congregation, like Lutheran or Calvinist heretics, would be admitted to sit with the rest."—Vol. vii. p. 335. Quadra's letter is at Simancas; but there is no need to go there to prove that Cecil never held such language. It was impossible that he should. In another place Mr. Froude remarks that

considered afterwards the Spaniard answered, and went on to another proposal: "Think you that if this Council fall through, as it well may by the obstinacy of the Germans, the reconciliation of this kingdom could be effected by a national council under the presidency of Papal legates?" Cecil seemed startled, but replied, negatively in effect, that matters of faith required to be examined and agreed to by all. "Then," said Quadra, "you have done wrong in altering them alone; especially in opposition to the whole ecclesiastical body in your realm: but if you seek tranquillity, the same authority which you have employed to alter religion will suffice to correct it." With that they broke off: but Quadra soon afterwards heard that Cecil put it about that the Queen wished to send representatives to the Council; that the Council could not properly judge of questions of faith; and that the Pope could not preside over it by right.* So ended the Papal overtures to England. Besides the insuperable difficulties of the matter itself, which required the surrender of the Reformation and the overthrow of all the ecclesiastical arrangements of the kingdom, it is evident that the Queen and her Council were decided by other considerations. The negotiations were badly conducted by Rome. The Papal envoys were not of befitting rank and mark. It was thought, rightly or wrongly, that in the time of the notification of the proposed Council England had not been treated so ceremoniously as

the Council was obliged "to inflict upon the prelates the disgrace of a rebuke for neglecting the duties of common probity": and refers to "Articles for the Bishops' Obligations, 1560: *Domestic MSS.*, Elizabeth." I am unable to find such a document. In the same passage he speaks of the Church of England as having been established for two years in 1560!

* Bishop Quadra to King Philip, London, March 25, 1561.—*Span. Cal.* 186.

the other Powers. And there remain some curious traces of intrigues carried on within the country in connection with it, which fell under the notice of the vigilant government.*

As soon as he was seated in Canterbury, Parker applied his diligence to fill the vacant sees. In the last month of 1559 Grindal was consecrated to London, Cox to Ely, Sandys to Worcester, Merrick to Bangor. In the following month Young, the former adversary of Bishop Ferrar, was promoted to his seat of St. David's; Davies to St. Asaph, Bullingham to Lincoln, Jewel to Salisbury. Two months afterwards, in March, 1560, Berkeley to Bath and Wells, and Bentham to Coventry and Lichfield, and Guest to Rochester, followed within the year by Alley to Exeter and Parkhurst to Norwich. Within another year, 1561, Horne was added to Winchester, Scambler to Peterborough, and another Davies to St. Asaph, the former Davies going to St. David's: and a little later, in April, 1562, the able and humorous, but not very happy, Richard Cheyney to Gloucester. It may be added that, within the same period, Young, translated from St. David's to the eminence of York,

* There is a paper of "Articles to be ministered to the persons imprisoned as to the design of calling a General Council" in the Record Office. The italicised additions are in Cecil's handwriting:—

"When heard you *first since Christmas* of a general Council summoned? for what cause? where to be holden? who were summoned thither? of whom have you heard it of, *and by what mean*?

"What have you heard should be treated of in the Council? what reformation would follow thereof, as in conference you judged? what order thought you would be devised and put in use for the reformation of such as would not come nor send to the Council, nor obey the orders and decrees thereof?

"What succour or relief *in money or otherwise* have you received from any person since your imprisonment? from whom? by whom? where, and how often?

"What comfort by message, word, or letter have you received, since your imprisonment, of religion changing? by whom? from whom? where, and how often?"—*State Papers, Dom.* xvi. No. 66; *Calendar*, p. 175.

consecrated three in his province—Best to Carlisle, Pilkington to Durham, and Downham to Chester.

The Primate might pride himself, not without reason, on the unequalled achievement of so many lifted to his own order by his own hand; his chaplain has reflected with satisfaction on the merits and labours of the prelates whom he created. "Historians," he says, "have held it memorable for an archbishop to have consecrated two or three. Antiquity admires an Anselm who consecrated five, a Phlegmund who exalted seven, in one day." But Matthew in his first year consecrated eleven, and confirmed two. In his first three years he renewed the whole episcopate in his province, void by the contumacy of the Pontificians. He was not less happy in the excellence of those whom he created. There was Grindal, a man of gravity and prudence, who toiled day and night on the High Commission, and when gentleness and clemency failed to bring any to obey God and the law, who shrank not from severity: and indeed sharpness was necessary, for great was obstinacy. Cox, a man of universal literature, copiously embellished, formerly very well known as Chancellor of Oxford. Sandys, who at Cambridge, both in the disputations of the schools and in the pulpit, had keenly refuted the Pontifician traditions, as Bishop of Worcester was so keen in hunting Pontificians out of his diocese, as never to be vanquished into tolerating them by the prayers and intercessions of any man. Of Jewel, what shall be said? He exquisitely tracked the Pontifician allegations urged against the true sense of the Scriptures: before he was made bishop he publicly challenged them in St. Paul's to set combat:* afterwards in the ensuing controversy with

* "Ante susceptum Episcopatum pro publica frequentis populi con-

their champion Harding he utterly demolished their principal opinions: he wrote an *Apology for the Church of England* of admirable elegance and strength: a man of gentle manners, he ruled his diocese in peace. Berkeley, Bentham, Merrick, Young, Davies, returned exiles, excellent men, learned theologians. Bullingham, a civilian and canonist, of grave and placable nature, when Matthew was about to make him his own vicar-general, was called to a bishopric where once he had been a vicar-general. Guest, the companion of Matthew himself in the troublous days of Mary: they two abode together in England, in the same hiding-places: full often they changed them, full often they fled from one to another together. Horne, of great mind and profound genius, sagacious in detecting, skilful in preventing the arts of the adversaries; diligent in preaching, prompt and keen in disputing; who wrote on the regal authority in causes ecclesiastical against Feckenham; who ruled with the utmost severity, bringing down the more powerful and fractious Pontificians, and yet treating the rest with an extraordinary kind of tenderness and gentleness. Alley, and Parkhurst, and Thomas Davies, and Scambler, and Cheyney are to be added. And besides all these, after two or three years Kitchin of Llandaff died; and Matthew consecrated Hugh Jones.* And Matthew reigned in Lambeth long enough to add several others to his chaplet.

To the bishoprics thus filled he supplied the clergy who were lacking through death, negligence, the late persecution, or the present alteration of religion, in

cione Londini in cemeterio Paulino pontificios de principalibus suis dogmatibus in apertum discrimen et aciem postulavit." Jewel's challenge, in 1559, made a great noise at the time; I mention it a little further on.

* *De Antiquitat.*, p. 541. This part is the work of the continuator.

many of the benefices, by a series of closely successive ordinations, by himself or his license. More than three hundred were ordained in the first four months after the elevation of Parker himself.* Within about a year from that, there are some two hundred presentations on record, of which, however, the causes of vacancy are unspecified, save in one case; and of which about a fourth were to canonries or prebends or archdeaconries, not to parochial cures.† The new bishops found themselves greatly embarrassed by the poverty and disorder of their sees. The forced exchanges and the renewed payments of firstfruits to the Crown, against which they had protested, were heavy enough, but not so vexatious as the conveyances, leases, annuities, reversions upon reversions, and other entanglements, in which their revenue had been involved by some of their predecessors, whether out of dishonesty, or of a set purpose of annoyance. The most notable example of this was Berkeley, the successor of Bourne in Bath and Wells. Bourne, the former of these Gilberts, with the aid and advice of a justice named Coles, had conveyed away the lands of the see with incredible art and boldness,

* There were ordained—

Dec. 22, 1559, by the Bp. of Hereford,	22, Strype's <i>Parker</i> , 65.
Jan. 25, 1560, by the Bp. of London,	60, Machyn, 224.
. . . . by the Bp. of Bangor,	10, Strype's <i>Parker</i> , 65.
Feb. by the Bp. of Lincoln,	14 "
Mar. by the Bp. of Lincoln,	155 "
. . . . by the Bp. of Lincoln,	7 "
Apr. 9, by the Bp. of Lincoln,	26, Strype's <i>Annals</i> , 207.
June 23, by the Bp. of Bath and Wells,	6 "
July 20, by the Bp. of Bath and Wells,	6 "
s. d. by the Bp. of Exeter,	37 "

Some were made priests, some deacons; in the account of one ordination readers are also mentioned. (Bangor ordained "10 deacons and readers in Bow Church, Cheapside.") In another several persons were ordained "both deacons and priests" by Exeter (five out of the 37).

† Rymer, xv. 562, 582, 617.

leasing three manors to his own brother, another to Coles, another to another, and to another a meadow, part of the demesnes of the bishop's house, "the brewhouse, the barnyard, a fair green, and a great garden": and had charged upon the house two heavy life annuities to the keeper and the steward. Some of the manors thus leased away were left with their annual payments to the Crown to be met by the bishop, not by the lessee.* Such dealing, like the concealments of some of the religious houses in the days of King Henry, may have come of a design to bestow the goods against a better day, when the former occupants might return, and cancel the contracts with the consent of the parties: and this was loudly imputed.† But it was dangerous in itself, and unjustifiable upon any pretext or motive whatsoever.

Between the new diocesans and the incomppliant clergy, who still remained in their cathedral or parish churches and had rallied themselves in the long vacancies, many battles were fought. Thus Barlow complained of Stapleton and Godsolve, prebendaries of Chichester; and desired to deprive the latter of his prebend.‡ Under Grindal all roodlofts in London were taken down, and writings placed instead, not without a struggle.§ But it is said that the bishops were unable to get a hold on many Romanensians, or

* Bishop Berkeley's complaints and remonstrances are up and down in the Domestic Papers of Elizabeth: whence many of them have been copied by the writer of "Some Troubles of the Elizabethan Episcopate" in the *Dublin Review*, July, 1897. This writer, a Mr. Birt, glories in Bourne's doings in a somewhat unseemly manner—that anything was fair against a "heretic."

† Pilkington alleged this very bitterly in his *Burning of St. Paul's*. See below.

‡ *State Papers, Dom. Eliz. Calendar*, 150.

§ Machyn, 241.

Pontificians, who complied, took the oath, and used the English Service; but retained their former opinions, with the good will of many of their parishioners, and pulled against the alteration of religion as much as they could.* This was to be expected. The Mass, it was suspected, was said secretly in London and in the country. A priest was taken at a lady's house in Fetter Lane about to sing Mass; he was carried in his vestments through London to the Counter, and thence to the Marshalsea.† A congregation assembled in Durham Place, and another at St. Mary's Spital, to hear Mass on Candlemas Day, in devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary: many of them were seized by the guard, probably by the vigilance of the High Commission, and committed to the Counter.‡ A

* Strype refers to "part of a register" for a case in which a person, who was brought before the Ecclesiastical Commission for not going to his parish church, answered that "the minister of his parish was a very papist"; whereon the Bishop of London assigned him another church to attend. Another person declared before the Commissioners that he knew of one who had been active in the persecution, and yet was now an allowed minister, though he had never made a recantation. Strype also quotes the vigorous denunciation which Augustine Bunker, in his Epistle prefixed to Latimer's *Sermons*, launched against the hypocrites, weathercocks, and perjurers who formerly deceived the people openly, and now secretly whispered in the ears of the simple and dissuaded them from embracing the truth.—Vol. i. p. 178.

† Strype, *Ann.*, i. 365. "In the year of our Lord 1562, the 8 day of September was a priest, whose name was Sir — Havard, taken by certain promoters and my lord of Ely's men for saying of Mass in Fetter lane at my lady Cary's house: which priest was violently taken and led as ten times worse than a traitor, through Holborn, Newgate market, and Cheapside to the Counter, with all his ornaments on him as he was ravished to Mass, with his Mass-book and his portus borne before him, and the chalice with the pax and all other things, such as might make rude people to wonder upon him. And the number of people was exceeding great that followed him, mocking, deriding, cursing, and wishing evil to him," &c.—Stow's *Memo-randa* in Gairdner's *Three Chronicles*, p. 121 (Camden Soc.). He and Lady Cary and several other ladies were taken before the Bishop of Ely, as one of the High Commission, and imprisoned.

‡ Strype, *ibid.*

priest and others were apprehended for the Mass celebrated in Essex in the houses of Sir Thomas Warton and Sir Edward Waldegrave, and in a house in Westminster.* Many persons took advantage of the Mass permitted to the foreign ambassadors, and resorted to it at their houses. The Queen ordered all the English who were found attending Mass at the French ambassador's on a certain day to be arrested: and this was done in the presence of a multitude of spectators collected before the house. The Spanish ambassador on the same day was alarmed at Mass by the entrance of an English agent, who took the names of those who were present, and left with some threatening words.† The old prelates, as many as were still alive, began to get into trouble, as they saw their places filled by intruders, and relinquished the hope of restoration. Bishop Watson of Lincoln and Bishop Pate of Worcester were sent to the Tower in May, 1560, together with Abbot Feckenham of Westminster, and with the renowned Oxford champion Doctor Chedsey; while on the same day the vigorous civilian Doctor Story went to the Fleet.‡ Their fault was their pertinacious refusal to attend the English Service, and the invectives with which they privately assailed the altered religion. Next month the Tower received Bishops Thirlby of Ely, the amiable and learned Heath of York, Bourne and Turberville of

* *Cal. Dom.*, pp. 152, 173.

† *Span. Cal.* 126, 128, 156. Quadra charges this to the Queen; it was probably the High Commission.

‡ Machyn, 235. He mistakenly mentions Cole for Pate. Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr, two days later, "Bonerus, Fecnamus monachus, Patus, Storæus jurisperitus, Vatsonus, quod animis obstinatis abstineant a sacro cœtu, et in omnibus angulis religionem istam, quam nos hodie profitemur, insectentur et lacerent, coniecti sunt in carcerem."—*Zurich Letters*, p. 46, May 22. Bonner, the first mentioned here, was already in the Tower, as the reader knows.

Bath and Exeter, and Dean Boxal of Peterborough and Windsor; and Dean Cole of St. Paul's having resigned his office to the short-lived May, whom he had formerly extruded, joined Doctor Story in the Fleet.* The six bishops remained in the Tower three years, in an incarceration which is variously represented as very severe and very lenient: but of which the truth appears to be that it was lenient at first in the allowance of meeting at meals, but afterwards less lenient because the opportunity was used too vigorously of disseminating opinions.† In 1563, on an alarm of

* Machyn, 238. In his former entry (235) he mentions Cole as sent to the Tower: but this is an accidental slip for Pate.

† Pathetic lamentation is made by Mr. Bridgett (*Catholic Hierarchy*, 37) of the rigours endured by these prisoners, and he gives some documents. It appears from a return made by the lieutenant of the Tower in 1562 that they were "close and severally kept," and were continually making suit to have more liberty. They petitioned the Council in 1560 for liberty to eat together: and, as they had been committed by the High Commission, the Council wrote to Archbishop Parker that, if he approved of it, he might order them to be allowed to sit at two tables, four at each: but that if he thought not fit, he should signify it to themselves.—Strype's *Parker*, Bk. ii. ch. iii. Mr. Bridgett says that if "Dr. Parker" ever granted this remission it was soon withdrawn, as appears by the lieutenant's return above mentioned. But this by no means appears from Strype, who says that they petitioned that "though they were kept asunder, yet they might have the liberty to eat together at meal times." He seems to be quoting what they said. Some light is thrown on the matter by the lately published *Acts of the Council*, where the following entry is found: "This day Sir Ed. Warner, Kt., lieutenant of the Tower, had commandment to cause the late Bishops, now prisoners in the Tower, to be more straitly shut up than they have been accustomed, so as they may not have such common conference as they have used to have, whereby much trouble and disquietness might, if their wishes and practices might take place, grow in the commonwealth, to the great disturbance thereof." July 26, 1562.—Dasent's *Acts*, 118. The lieutenant's return, which was of Sept. 4, would be in consequence of this order. Hence it would appear that "Dr. Parker" granted the remission, which was enjoyed for two years, till it was thought to be abused. They were waited on by their own servants, and might purchase what they would, though, as Mr. Bridgett pathetically conjectures, it may have been "at exorbitant prices." Their fellow-prisoner Bonner was more severely treated: but Bonner made no complaints. It may be added that at the

the plague, to the rage of the multitude who thought unthinkingly that their preservation was not necessary, they were released. Heath and Turberville were set at large but restricted to localities: Pate escaped abroad: the rest were quartered on bishops; Thirlby on Parker, Bourne on Bullingham of Lincoln, Watson on Cox of Ely. There they may be left at the present.

And yet hope was not flown: the balances hung still in air. The Queen from time to time, through the susceptibility to momentary impressions which belonged to her character, in her interviews with the foreign ambassadors let fall some expressions which savoured of regret or repentance concerning the alteration of religion: as, that she had been compelled by the people, or that she herself thought otherwise. To some extent her acts confirmed her words. The crucifix still stood in her chapel. Six months before the destruction of roodlofts, she ordered crosses to be restored in churches.* She treated the clergy, particularly the married clergy, with considerable contumely. Making a progress through Essex and Suffolk, she

same time the same measures were taken with the prisoners in the Fleet: "This day the Warden of the Fleet's deputy had commandment given him to say to his master from their Lordships that he should cause Dr. Scot, Dr. Cole, the two Harpsfields, Wood, Somerset, and Smyth, remaining prisoners in his ward, to be kept in close prison, so as they may not have conference with any, nor be suffered to have such resort unto them as they have been accustomed." July 28, 1562.—*Acts*, 119. There were contemporaries who considered the Romanensian prisoners not very cruelly treated. "Let the world judge," fiercely exclaimed Pilkington, "whether they ever lived more merrily, quietly, fared better, lay easilier, had more plenty of all things, than they have now. They are as pale in prison as a butcher's boll, they are as lean as a fat hog, they lie at ease unto their bones ache with rising early."—Pilkington's *Works*, 623.

* At least so Quadra wrote to Philip. "The Queen insists that the crosses shall be again restored, and the altars placed in the churches." Feb. 1560.—*Span. Cal.* 128; cf. *ibid.* 126.

took great disgust at the behaviour of ministers and readers in the churches, the want of order in the public services, few wearing the surplice, particularly in the dominions of the lax disciplinarian Parkhurst of Norwich.* She observed with anger how many of the clergy were married; and that the families of heads and deans, of canons and prebendaries, had abode in colleges and cathedral churches. In August, 1561, she issued a fierce mandate. "Keep your wives, children, and nurses out of colleges, chapels, and cathedral precincts. Those rooms and buildings were raised and enclosed for societies of learned men professing study and prayer: not for families of women and children, for whom they are not fit. If you will not obey, you shall lose your promotions."† It would not have been very bad if this injunction had always been followed, and married dignitaries had always found houses for their wives and families outside the closes. Evidently the Queen's letter was written whilst the old conventual buildings were still standing, before it was begun to take them down and build on their sites and with their bodies commodious edifices, of which the soul was not their own. Cecil, who sent the injunction to Parker, thought that "the good

* "I have had a troublesome progress with her Majesty," wrote Cecil to Parker, "to stay her from daily offence conceived against the clergy by reason of the indiscreet behaviour of the readers and ministers in Suffolk and Essex. Surely here be many slender ministers, and such nakedness of religion as it overthroweth my credit. Her Ma. continueth very ill-affected to the state of matrimony in the clergy. If I were not very stiff therein, she would utterly and openly condemn and forbid it. . . . The Bishop of Norwich is blamed even of the best sort for his remissness in ordering his clergy. He winketh at Schismatics and Anabaptists, as I am informed. Surely I see great variety in ministration. A surplice may not be borne here. And the ministers follow the folly of the people, calling it charity to feed their fond humour."—Strype's *Parker*, Bk. ii. ch. viii.

† Strype gives the Injunction, as above. There are four copies in the Record Office.—*Cal. Dom.*, p. 182.

order thereof would do no harm." He himself desired that it should not become publicly known. He sent it to the two Archbishops, and to the chancellors of the two Universities, "so as it shall not be promulgated to be popular." But Parker, as it was his duty, dispersed the mandate through his province, to the perplexity of the bishops: and Cox of Ely in a strong remonstrance pointed out the evils that would attend on the observance of it—non-residence, lack of hospitality. "It is reasonable," said he, "that colleges and places of students should not be troubled with families of women and babes. But in these vast cathedral churches with their rooms plenty and several, on what ground should this be ordained? I have but one prebendary continually resident in Ely Church. Turn him out, and daws and owls may dwell there for any continual housekeeping. The adversaries make rejoicing and jeering over this order; the godly ministers are discouraged." Upon the whole the opinion of Cox has prevailed.*

The sallies of the Queen caused indeed much inquietation, and forced the new bishops to stand resolute. Her prejudice against the marriage of the clergy alarmed Archbishop Parker greatly. Upon one of his visits to her, she told him that she repented that the present clergy had ever been appointed in office, with other expressions which filled him with horror: threatening to follow up with other Injunctions her thunderbolt about cathedral closes; "She talked of other manner of Injunctions that should follow." He complained not unjustly of the shame to which they

* The Queen attempted to enforce her will in Westminster, which she held to be a place of students. She wrote to the dean of that refounded foundation to give orders to all the prebendaries and other ministers to observe the late Injunction for excluding women and children.—*Dom. Cal. of State Papers*, p. 187.

were brought by her Majesty's speeches, though they were the mainstay of her throne. "Queen Mary's clergy laugh prettily to see how the clergy of our time is handled, and what equity of laws be ministered to our sort. We have cause to be utterly discomfited and discouraged." He added with dignity, "I should be sorry that the clergy should have cause to shew disobedience, saying, 'We ought to obey God rather than men.' There be enough of this contemptible flock that will not shrink to offer their blood for the defence of Christ's verity, if it be openly impugned or secretly suggilled."* Nor less Cox of Ely, in favour with the Queen, wrote vigorously to her, enforcing by the examples of patriarchs and of the primitive Church that marriage is an honourable estate not forbidden to priests.†

The other part of the meditated relapse of the Queen, the restoration of crosses, and, it was feared, of images, was not opposed by the new bishops with the same consent. There was a division among them, which went so far that a formal disputation was held, February 5, 1560, before lay moderators appointed by the Council; in which sides were taken by Parker and Cox against Grindal and Jewel.‡ The question was the restoration of roodlofts so lately destroyed: "Whether the image of Christ crucified, together with St. Mary and St. John, should be placed, as heretofore,

* The Archbishop to Cecil. Strype's *Parker*, Bk. ii. App. 17. The curious word "suggilled," for "defamed," is perhaps peculiar to Parker.

† *State Papers, Cal. Dom.*, p. 187.

‡ "Nunc ardet lis illa crucularia. Vix credas in re fatua quantum homines, qui aliquid sapere videbantur, insaniant. . . . Crastino die instituetur de ea re disputatio. Arbitri erunt ex senatu selecti quidam viri. Actores inde Cantuariensis et Coxus; hinc Grindallus Londinensis Episcopus et ego. Eventus ἐν κριτῶν γούνασι κείται. Rideo tamen cum cogito quibus illi et quam gravibus et solidis rationibus defensuri sint suam cruculam." Jewel to Martyr, Feb. 4, 1560.—*Zurich Letters*, p. 39 (Lett. xxix.).

in some conspicuous part of the church.”* It may be remarked that crosses were silently conceded and allowed, so far as it appears from the scanty records of the occasion: and that the disputation may have been appointed by the Queen in answer to a solemn petition which was addressed to her by some of the bishops and other divines that she would cause the matter to be proposed before a synod of bishops.† Other bishops besides the leaders bore part in the controversy: and the vehemence of Sandys, as he said, ran the risk of deposition and of the Queen’s displeasure.‡ But perhaps the combat was less severe, the extremity not so great, as he thought: since Cox, a month later, affirmed that there was no open variance among them, but not an entire agreement, as to the setting up of the crucifix in churches.§ The issue

* “Regia Majestas non alienum esse a verbo Dei, imo in commodum Ecclesiæ fore putabat, si imago Christi crucifixi una cum Maria et Johanne, ut solet, in celebriori parte ecclesiæ poneretur, ubi ab omni populo facillime conspiceretur.” Sandys to Martyr, April 1, 1560.—*Zurich Letters*, p. 42 (Let. xxxi.).

† This weighty and solemn address to the Queen against the use of images is undated. It was first printed by Burnet, who refers it to the former year, 1559 (vol. v. p. 530, Pocock’s edition). Strype in his *Parker* (Bk. ii. ch. vi.) refers it to this year, but connects it not with this disputation. The petitioners beseech the Queen in this and in all controversies of religion “to refer the discussion and deciding of them to a synod of the bishops and other godly learned men, according to the example of Constantinus Magnus and other Christian emperors: that the reasons of both parties being examined by them, the judgment may be given uprightly in all doubtful matters.” See it also in Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* i. 235, where there is a useful note.

‡ “Ego quia vehementior eram in ista re, nec ullo modo consentire poteram, ut lapsus occasio ecclesiæ Christi daretur, non multum aberat quin ab officio amoverer, et principis indignationem incurrerem.”—To P. Martyr, as above. The deposition would have been his own resignation, if anything: we have already seen that the question of resigning the ministry rather than accept “the relics of the Amorites,” especially the crucifix, lay heavy on the mind of such men as Sampson. See *Zur. Lett.*, p. 64.

§ “Non contentio est, sed neque integra inter nos consensio de imagine

was concord founded on the obliteration of the objects of contention ; and lofts and figures, roods and images, such remnants as survived the visitations of her first, were more completely eradicated, by stronger authority, in the course of Elizabeth's second year.* But the cross still stood unconquered, the two lights, the table altarwise, in the chapel of the Queen at least ; as Doctor Bill, the new Dean of Westminster, found, who preached there at this very juncture : † while the consciences of Doctor Bill, of Cox, and of any others were assuaged ; and the continual challenge offered hitherto by the Queen's chapel to every one who might be called to minister in it was mitigated by the trial of the matter. They who had contended for the crucifix, albeit in vain, could not object against the cross. Their leader Cox, who had done so formerly, was fortified in his change by the just opinion of the Lutheran Cassander that there was

crucifixi in templis erigenda, quemadmodum hactenus usurpatum fuit." Cox to Cassander of Worms, March 4, 1560.—*Zur. Lett.* ii. Ep. xviii. He goes on to say that no images remained : "In hoc statu nunc sumus, ut nulla (imago) hodie in ecclesiis exstare cernatur" : and asks the opinion of his correspondent. Cassander in reply said that he was uncertain whether the question were about the cross or the crucifix : "Non satis intelligo an de crucis tantum nuda figura, an de imagine Christi cruci quoque appendentis agatur" : and proceeds in a strain of great learning and piety to show that the former, the cross, was primitive, allowable, and extremely precious.—*Ib.* Epist. xix. I suppose, (1) that both crosses and crucifixes had disappeared at this time from the churches : (2) that the Queen designed to restore both : (3) that in the disputation among the bishops crucifixes only were mentioned, or that perhaps only images were named, under which name both crosses and crucifixes, or only crucifixes, might be mentally intended by the several disputants : (4) that it was the cross in the Queen's chapel which caused the distinction to be drawn and held.

* "The second year of the Queen Elizabeth was all the roodlofts taken down in London, and writings written in the same place."—Machyn, 241.

† "The sixth of March did preach at the Court Doctor Bill dean of Westminster that day in the queen's chapel, the cross and two candles burning, and the tables standing altarwise."—*Ib.* 226.

a great difference between the representation of the cross and all other images or figures, and that to have the cross was no superstition.* Opposition to the Queen's chapel appears to have ceased for several years.

The new Bishop of London, Grindal, preached at Paul's Cross as soon as he was consecrated: and again soon after, in rochet and chimere.† The new Dean of Paul's, Nowell, preached there a notable sermon on self-defence, in which he remarked that if any one called him heretic, he would raise his "buckler hand," and lay it on his face, even if it had a spike in the middle of it.‡ The promising Christ Church man, Calfhill, preached there, "with an excellent tongue and rhetorical tale which ravished the minds of his hearers."§ Pilkington, being then the elect of Durham, preached there before the Queen's Council. Scory preached there in rochet and chimere; and soon afterwards the venerable Coverdale. Cox, Sandys, Scambler, preached there. At Court, in the Queen's chapel, preached Scambler, Dean Sampson of Christ Church, Bentham, Barlow, and others. Cox preached there upon the argument that none but the learned should preach of high

* See a former note, p. 312. Observe further that some confusion has been caused by writers who have not distinguished between cross and crucifix. Thus Cardwell says, "The question was soon afterwards set at rest by the complete removal of crosses," and refers to Sandys' letter to Martyr. The words of Sandys are "*Imago Christi crucifixi*," as the reader has seen. Both he and Cox declare that the disputation turned on the crucifix. Without this distinction it is not possible to understand the matter properly.

† Machyn, 222, 226.

‡ The Romanensians understood him to say that "it would do him good to raze his buckler upon a papist's face." This was so much talked of that Dorman afterwards charged Nowell with it in print, and received an explanation. See Strype, i. 236.

§ *Ibid.*

matters in divinity. Parker himself preached there "a noble sermon."* In St. Martin's, Ludgate, the vicar, Veron, introduced psalm-singing, "a psalm in metre, the tune of Geneva ways": the fashion spread from church to church: until, to the joy of Bishop Jewel, at Paul's Cross, after the sermon might be seen six thousand persons all singing together and praising God. "The Mass-priests and the devil like it not; for they see that thereby holy sermons sink deeper, and at almost every note their kingdom is weakened and shaken."† Bishop Jewel himself was conspicuous among the preachers. Preaching at a funeral in St. Margaret's Moses before the masters of Christ's Hospital, he said plainly that there was no Purgatory.‡ Preaching at Paul's Cross, before he was made a bishop, he uttered a formal challenge to the Roman-ensians to prove their distinct doctrines true by the Scriptures, by the Doctors, by the old Councils, or by any primitive example. He repeated this challenge, with many more doctrines enumerated, in the chapel before the Queen and Council: and a third time at Paul's Cross;§ drawing upon the second repetition an answer from Doctor Cole, the displaced Dean of

* These examples are from Machyn and Strype.

† Jewell to Martyr, 5 March, 1560.—*Zurich Lett.* i. 70. Machyn, 228. When Veron was admitted vicar of St. Martin's, "all the bells of the church did ring a great peal, and after done all the people did sing the tune of Geneva with the base of the organs."—*Ib.* This came from France and the Huguenots. At this very time one of Cecil's agents there wrote, "The people in thousands sing every night between nine and ten o'clock the Psalms of David, and the men at arms dare not touch them."—*For. Cal.* 493.

‡ Machyn, 224.

§ The challenge was first given at Paul's Cross, Nov. 26, 1559, before Jewel was made bishop. The sermon, which is in his *Works*, with the challenge amplified, was preached at the Court, March 17, 1560: and next day, March 18, Cole wrote his first letter to Jewel. The sermon and challenge were repeated at Paul's Cross on Passion Sunday, March 31.

Paul's, which was the beginning of a vast controversy. Cole observed with some acuteness that Jewel's challenge was not upon the main matters lying between the Church of Rome and the Protestants,* as the Presence in the Sacrament, Justification, Good Works, the Mass propitiatory, prayers to Saints, prayers for all Christian souls; but upon four points of less absolute disagreement, namely, whether there were any substance of bread and wine after consecration; whether the people should receive under one kind; whether the common service should be in the vulgar tongue; and whether Mass should be said, the priest alone receiving. He had not been at the sermon of course, and the number of points on which Jewel challenged was near thirty instead of four. But beyond this the manner or form of the challenge was altered in Cole's representation. Jewel had propounded nothing in the way of questioning whether it were so, or should be so, or not. He had denied certain things, and called on the other side to prove any one of them by Scriptures, councils, doctors, or any other antiquity. As he said, he "stood upon the negative": and Cole by representing him to have propounded questions upon doctrines and customs in use designed to "stand upon the negative" instead of him; to deny his doctrine instead of having his own doctrine denied by him, and to throw it on him to prove or disprove as the matter might be, and in either case to be the first to begin to dispute, or in scholastic language to be the opponent. Thus Cole repeated the conduct which he and his party had pursued in the Westminster disputation, as Jewel failed not to tell him. In a second letter to Jewel he

* Observe this use of the word Protestants. It may be either of the Protestants proper, or as a more general designation.

maintained the same position: that he and his party were the defendants, that they were in possession, that they continued in the faith of their baptism; that it was for the other side to attack them and put them out. He added that now they were bound in recognisances to avoid such reasoning as they were challenged to; and complained that in sermons they were very unmercifully dealt with. "Unmercifully?" answered Jewel; "call you this dealing unmerciful? When you were in authority you called us nothing but traitors and heretics, and how you dealt with our bodies you know. You are not in possession. You were in possession, but now we are in possession. As for your recognisances, you are not so bound as you have bound others, though I would that the Queen would loose you. But when you were at liberty, and a free disputation was offered you at Westminster before the whole estate of the realm, which part was it that gave over? You say that you continue in the faith in which you were baptised. But you have forsaken many things that were thought necessary when you were baptised. For example, who wrote a book against the supremacy of Rome? Gardiner. Who commended it with a preface? Bonner.* Who set it forth with solemn sermons? Tunstall. Who confirmed it with open oath? Amongst others Doctor Cole." As to the custom of the schools in disputation, Jewel added that, supposing he were the opponent, yet the opponent was often ordered by Aristotle to require an instance, and so drive the adversary to avouch the affirmative; which was what Cole's party would not do for very good reasons. "I hold the negative: there were many more matters than four.

* As to Bonner's alleged Preface to Gardiner's famous work *De Vera Obedientia*, see Vol. I. p. 425 of this work.

I send you seven of them now : and look to you how you will be able to affirm any one of them on sufficient authority. I ask no great thing. Give me but one good sentence : vouchsafe but two lines from antiquity affirming any one of the doctrines that I deny, and the victory is altogether your own." Cole drew off under cover of dignity ; but he was hotly pursued, and Jewel brought against him the charge of disingenuous behaviour.*

The place of Cole was taken by a man of different temper. Harding, a displaced canon of Jewel's church of Salisbury, now in exile in Louvain, heard of the challenge, misliked it may be the retreat without issue joined, and feared not to attack the negative theses of Jewel, taking them one by one in a laborious treatise. The Bishop thereupon composed his *Reply unto Harding's Answer*, showing, as he said, "the weak and unstable grounds of the Roman religion which of late hath been accounted Catholic." This was a very exhaustive work. In the manner of many of the controversies of that age, he takes his adversary sentence by sentence, from preface to peroration, leaving him breathless at the close. It was a long combat : for the challenge, out of which all arose, consisted of twenty-seven negative articles. Howbeit Harding was not reduced to silence yet. This was but the first part of his bout with Bishop Jewel.

In the midst of these combats Jewel produced his

* Jewel complained that Cole in his second letter gave answers to Jewel's answers to the various arguments in his first letter, without giving Jewel's answers also. This caused Jewel to write again a reply at greater length, in which he repeated seriatim those answers to Cole's first letter which Cole omitted to give in his second : then gave Cole's answers seriatim to those answers : then answered Cole's answers to those answers. All the particulars of the whole controversy are at hand in the Parker Society's *Jewel*.

celebrated *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. The Latin language in which the first great Anglican vindication was written indicated the use which it was to serve, the instruction of other nations in the position of England upon the alteration of religion : and it seems not unlikely that the work was suggested by the desire of foreign theologians.* The purpose was extensive, to declare the whole manner of religion in England ; the theological orthodoxy, the purified simplicity of worship, which was now obtained. The style was clear, good, and remarkably forcible : the learning very great. By necessity the *Apologia* was as much an attack as a defence. The abuses of the Roman system were exposed to justify the rejection of it : and the apologist spoke with an earnestness of horror which the world has ceased to feel. His abhorrence was not only the emotion of a sufferer and of a divine, but of a literary critic and student. He felt the breath of that stifling region in which there is no literary sense, no confidence of enquiry, no scholarly honour : and one of his accusations against the Roman party was that they had published a mutilated edition of Origen rather than display the opinion of a Father contrary to their sacramental doctrine.† The work

* Above, p. 292.

† He says that they published Origen's *Commentary on St. John* with the sixth chapter omitted. He was wrong in this accusation : the defect is in the manuscripts, not the editors, of Origen. The *Commentary on St. John* was among the latest of Origen's works that were rendered into Latin by the great translators of the sixteenth century. Ferrarius first published it from a Venetian MS. in 1551 : who was followed by Perionius in 1554 from a MS. in the Royal Library of Paris. See Westcott's article on "Origen" in *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* But these two MSS. are referable to a MS. at Munich of the thirteenth century, on which "we are wholly dependent for our knowledge of the text of the extant books (or tomi) of Origen's *Commentary on St. John*." See the edition by A. E. Brooke, 1896, Cambr., Introd. ix. and xxi. No Greek edition of any part of Origen was published before the seventeenth century. Now there can be little doubt

was received with admiration: it raised the author to the first rank among his fellows; and it has continued to be numbered among the masterpieces of his age. It was translated into English by Anne Lady Bacon, one of the learned daughters of Sir Antony Cook, wife of Sir Nicolas, mother of Lord Bacon: whose performance was pronounced by Archbishop Parker to have enhanced the renown of her native tongue, "shewing it able to contend with a work originally written in the most praised speech." And not into English only, it was translated into other languages; and, as the author with just delight affirmed, "made common to the most part of all Europe."

This famous treatise was attacked anon by the undaunted Harding, who had recovered of his wounds, as it were, and entered the lists again. He wrote a *Confutation* of the *Apology*, and another book, a *Detection of Sundry Foul Errors* to be found in it. His language was vigorous. He called Jewel many opprobrious names: liar above all: and claimed to have detected above a thousand lies in him. Jewel in return wrote his immense *Defence of the Apology of the Church of England*, one of the most complete pieces of controversy in the world, which occupied him several years. He gave his own *Apology* piecemeal in this: under each piece that piece of Harding's *Confutation* which referred thereto: then his own

that it was Ferrarius who excited the suspicion of Jewel. Ferrarius, a monk of Cassino, dedicated his work to a Pope, Julius III. When he got to his nineteenth tomos, he drew attention to a lacuna by a marginal note: "Permulta huic decimi noni tomi principio desunt: imo 5, 6, 7 totum caput; etiam dimidium octavi capitis: et, ut dicam quod sentio, desunt plures quam quattuor tomi," &c. He was honestly following his manuscript: but his note drew attention to a remarkable lacuna, which is found in the Munich MS. also.

answer to that piece of Harding's *Confutation*, taking at the same time anything pertinent that there might be in Harding's *Detection*.* The reader who peruses all this may have a complete survey of the controversy between Rome and England in the sixteenth century: and it may not be without profit to observe the *Apology* under the shield of the *Defence*, as it regards a few of the principal contested points. In the *Apology* Jewel remarked that Pope Pius should account those who differed from him as brethren, or at least as men, and not in his Bull about the Council have condemned so many nations without showing cause or hearing them speak. Harding answered that as he took them for men, so not for brethren, because they had cut themselves off from the Church: that their reasons had been considered already: that when heretics were admitted to reasoning, it was well known that however thoroughly confuted they yielded not. Jewel replied that it was no marvel that the Pope would not have them for brethren, seeing that his own cardinals would not have him for their father, but had lately conspired to depose him: that, if no disputation were to be had with heretics, yet both the Councils of Basle and of Trent had made concessions to the Bohemians, whom they called heretics. "That is a manifest lie, and you give no place where to find wherein those Councils yielded," retorted Harding in the *Detection*: and Jewel now added

* This complete reproduction of Harding by Jewel was not by every one considered to be advantageous. After Jewel's death, Archbishop Parker wrote to the bishops (at least he wrote to one of them, and it may be supposed to the rest) commending "the late Bishop of Sarum's last book" to be had in the parish churches where it had not been already procured. Parkhurst of Norwich replied that he feared it would "confirm the adversaries" to do that: for that it would provide them with Harding: that they would be like spiders sucking only what served their purposes, and contemning what was most wholesome.—Parker's *Corresp.* 417.

that it was in permitting the Bohemians to have communion under both kinds. In the *Apology* Jewel, protesting against the imputation of heresy, termed heresy "a forsaking of salvation, a renouncing of God's grace, a departing from the Body and Spirit of Christ." Harding answered that this definition was not sufficient, since it would include every deadly sin: but that heresy was false doctrine stubbornly maintained by one who professed the faith. Jewel replied that he was not defining heresy, but declaring the horror of heresy: and gave examples to show that Harding's definition touched his own party. In the *Apology* Jewel remarked that so foul a charge as heresy ought to be proved by strong arguments; that all the sayings of the Popes were no longer allowed for gospel, but that doctrines could now be tried by the Scriptures which were abroad in print. Harding answered that the heresies of the age had long been proved by strong arguments: Berengarius confuted by Lanfranc and Guimund, the Petrobrusians by Peter of Clugny, Wickliffe by Walden, Luther and Œcolampadius by Fisher: that the Pope's sayings were received by the Council of Chalcedon as if Peter the Apostle had spoken: that the Pope was supreme in the government of the Church, but that it was not true that Catholics thought all religion to depend on that. Jewel replied that the doctors cited were over-young, all within five hundred years: that Berengarius, Wickliffe, Luther, might be well and safely compared with Lanfranc, Walden, Fisher, in learning and judgment: that the Councils which Harding meant were very new, and many ways contrary to the old. "This talk is like Lucifer, saucy and malapert," retorted Harding in the *Detection*; "wherein are the late Councils so many ways contrary

to the new?" Jewel returned, "He might as well have demanded, wherein is darkness so many ways contrary to light?" and gave examples of prerogatives allowed to Popes by late Councils which earlier Councils had denied. In the *Apology* Jewel denied that any one could have the universal superiority. Harding answered that every parish had a parson, every diocese a bishop, therefore there was one chief governor over the whole Christian people. "Every flock has a shepherd, therefore all flocks throughout the world ought to have one general shepherd," replied Jewel. "I see no absurdity here," retorted Harding, "and the world was never in better state than when it was governed by one good emperor." "What emperor ever bore rule over the whole world?" remarked Jewel. "As to the emperors after Augustus, many of them were monsters only to be matched in horror among the Popes; forty of them were slain by violence within four hundred years." In the *Apology* Jewel protested against the assertion that there were no Orders in the Church of England. "In this your new Church," answered Harding, "ye have neither bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, nor any inferior order. How many bishops of Salisbury can you reckon whom you have succeeded in doctrine as well as in outward sitting in that chair? Did Bishop Capon teach your doctrine? did Shaxton? did Campegius? did Bishop Audley? You have abandoned the external sacrifice and priesthood of the New Testament, and in your sect you have no consecrated bishops, nor priests made with lawful laying on of hands. Whereby hold you your bishopric? Will you show us the letters patent of the prince? Bishops have always been consecrated by three other bishops, with the consent of the metropolitan and confirmation of the Bishop of Rome. Who

gave you your Orders?" Jewel replied that he had received Orders from the same hands that gave Harding Orders, in the time of King Edward: that he and the rest were canonically elected bishops by their chapters, canonically consecrated by three bishops, canonically confirmed by the metropolitan: adding that in his own election Harding had been one of the chapter personally present and consenting: but, "Who gave the Pope that singular privilege that no bishops should be admitted in all the world but only by him?" As to letters patent of the prince, he remarked that time had been when the Pope was no Pope without the letters patent of the Emperor. As to succession, he replied that if it were certain that religion and truth passed ever by succession, and none otherwise, the argument might be substantial. But Annas and Caiaphas were in succession to Aaron and Eleazar. And he failed not to enquire whether his adversaries had their own succession, not as to doctrine but as matter of fact, in safe record. If Peter were the first, who was the second Bishop of Rome? As to the charge of abandoning the external sacrifice and priesthood, he denied that the Church of England refused any that was instituted by our Lord. In the *Apology* Jewel pronounced that "in the Lord's Supper there is truly given unto the believing the Body and Blood of our Lord": whereto Harding answered, "In your the Lord's Supper there is not given the Body and Blood of our Lord, neither to the believing nor to the unbelieving. At the celebration of your schismatical Supper, no consecration being done, nor faith of the Church, nor right intention had, nor Christ's institution observed, what deliver you to your communicates but a piece of bread and a sip of wine? In the Catholic Church the Body of the Lord is

received, be the receivers believing or not believing." In his remarks on this Jewel observed that his adversaries, who denied the consecration of the English rite, were not agreed as to their own, in what it consisted according to the institution of Christ: that according to one of their doctors Christ might consecrate without word, or by secretly spoken words, or by the words "This is My Body"; or that He might consecrate and then deliver, or deliver and then consecrate; but that which of them He did appeared not by the Scriptures: that according to another, consecration was wrought by the words of Christ in the Latin Church; in the Greek Church by other prayers that follow: that according to another Christ consecrated not with the words "This is My Body," which are used in the Mass for consecration: that according to another those words were said after consecration: that according to another the words of Christ were not sufficient to work consecration without the words of the canon of the Mass; that another said that to have the true form of consecration we must seek not to the Gospel but to the canon: and that others doubted whether it were possible to determine the written form of consecration. In this manner the controversy ranges over the whole of the vast field. The superiority of Jewel in erudition and keenness is overwhelming: and while his overmatched adversary exclaimed that he must be helped by the note-books of Germany, the critics of another age have condescended to admire the strength of his memory.* He defends well against that day: but in estimating his theology it must be borne in mind that he is defending. His battle was against abuses. In review-

* This is the remark of Hallam in the *Literature of Europe*, i. 561. I have also seen it somewhere else.

ing the ages in which those abuses arose he is too indiscriminate: as if the differences between them and the previous antiquity had all sprung out of popery: he draws too strong a line between them and the previous antiquity. For the same reason he sometimes uses language upon the great doctrines which is below what he would have employed in a treatise of divinity. He was impatient of the arrogant assumptions of his adversaries. "They would overwhelm us with the mere name of Church." He did a service in establishing that, although there might be found in the Fathers some colour for the Roman view of the great doctrines, yet for the many points on which he challenged it, there was no colour: and those were the points which showed most what the Papal Church was become. He struck the true note when he said, "We have departed not so much from it as from the errors of it."*

A greater work than even the *Apologia* of Jewel stepped at the same moment from the Latin into the English vesture, when the *Acts and Monuments* of John Fox issued from the press of John Day. Those

* Jewel was sorry for himself in the enormous labours of controversy. After giving Bullinger an account of his original challenge to the Romanensians and the abuse he got for it, he went on thus to describe his adversaries and his own toils. "Four years after one Harding came unexpectedly forward, a man who had been not very long before a hearer and follower of Peter Martyr, and a most active preacher of the Gospel, now a wretched apostate: and undertook to confute me out of Amphilochius, Abdias, Hippolytus, Clement, Victor, supposed Athanasian books, Leontius, Cletus, Anacletus, decretal letters, dreams and fables. I answered him last year to my poor ability. But, O heavens, what a life it is! Oh that strife might cease on earth and come utterly to an end! Scarce had I finished my task, when out there flies a *Confutation* of my *Apology*: a huge work, an elaborate work, as full as could be of insults, abuse, lies, and sycophancy. So am I set upon again! What would you have? He must be answered. By some peculiar fate I am to be for ever fighting with these monsters."—*Zurich Lett.* 147.

now neglected researches, on their first appearance, awoke an emotion in the country which cannot be conceived. The families, the relations, the friends and neighbours of the hundreds who had been done to death by fire in the late persecution, read with mingled grief and pride the narratives of the trials of their lost ones, their boldness, constancy, and acuteness under examination, their sufferings and death. The story of divinely strengthened fortitude and of baffled and mistaken cruelty was carried through the land. A vast collection of originals, of acts and processes, of minutes of examinations taken down by notaries, of the recollections of eye-witnesses, records of every kind, brought again before the eyes which had beheld the terrible scenes which had scarcely ceased to be enacted; and renewed in certainty the power of reality. The labours of the historian in gathering matter had been prodigious: no place or person had escaped him: he had been largely aided during his exile by collectors in England, as Grindal; but the mass was his own, moulded by him, bearing his stamp. "The toils, anxieties, vigils, and miseries that I have endured in bringing this work to completion," said he, "might have killed an ass, yea, the best among them that bear fardels."* The form which he invented for his work, half biographical, half historical, was the fittest for his purpose. The history of a great and critical epoch was never presented to the world with so little delay. Whatever be said, one thing is certain, that, if it had not been for Fox, England would never have known so much as the names of scores of her own martyrs: he is not without a claim on the gratitude of his country. No other country, save France, neither Spain nor the Nether-

* See his *Eucharisticon* prefixed to his work.

lands, possesses a martyrology.* No writer has been more severely treated: for he has been assailed both by rage and contempt. He was vehemently attacked by the great party, which he exposed, as soon as his book appeared. "No English papist almost in all the realm thought himself a perfect Catholic," said he, "until he had cast out some word or other to give that book a blow." But the charges of falsification, suppression, alteration of documents, which have been laid against him, amount to little, most often to nothing. His adversaries of this kind usually know nothing beyond what they find in him, and all that they do is that they try to turn his own words against him.† For the first part of the present age he has

* The work of Jean Crespin, Fox's contemporary, is, so far as I know, the only product of the same kind, and was to the Huguenots what Fox was to England. It had an immense sale in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; "preacher; quoted it in the pulpit, and in many churches it was publicly read at the evening service." As to title it curiously resembled both the popular and the proper appellations of Fox. The first edition, published in 1554, is said to have been entitled *Le Livre des Martyrs*. There was a Latin translation by Baduellus in 1556 called *Acta Martyrum*: and another in 1560 called *Actiones et Monumenta Martyrum*. The subsequent French editions were generally entitled *Histoire des Martyrs*. Bower's *Fourteen of Meaux*, p. 57, ed. 1894. Crespin, the author and printer of the work, wrote not on so large a scale as his English contemporary, and does not reproduce his documents, as Fox does. He confines not himself to the French; he begins with Wickliffe and Huss, and includes many of the martyrs of Switzerland, Piedmont, and Spain. He writes with candour and clearness, and pathetic piety, as he relates atrocities and horrors that far exceeded any that were tolerated in England.

† The remarks of Strype, who came into the possession of Fox's papers, upon the unscrupulous charges of destroying records, brought by Parsons, may be consulted.—*Annals*, i. 251. Fox's great work was first published in 1563, in one vast blackletter folio, by Day. The first edition had the woodcuts, which reappeared in subsequent editions with some modifications and softenings. They were probably at first made in Germany. The first edition is much fuller in some parts than the rest, especially about Gardiner. The author himself, who lived to see two or three editions, excised much about him.

suffered much from sham editions and inefficient editors, the castigation of whom by critics has greatly involved their author. Irritated by the partiality and prejudice which are manifest in him, the critics have denounced him for dishonesty. He was indeed prejudiced. In the least valuable part of his book he has set the persecutions of the emperors against the persecutions of the Popes, the persecutions "sought and wrought by heathen emperors, as well as now lately practised by Romish prelates," as if both had proceeded from the same motives. He was one of the first Latinists of the age; his Latin style is fine; but when he puts it into English, there is at times a flatness and meanness of expression which is due to prejudice. But the tendency of modern research is to rehabilitate his credit. Fox returned to England broken in health and in great poverty; he was given some preferment by Cecil; and Jewel took him by the hand, and presented him to a canonry in Salisbury. There he nonconformed a little about the surplice and some other things until he died.

From the city of Calvin, from the pens of English exiles, some of whom had tarried abroad a year or two for an adequate cause, from the press of Rowland Hall in 1560 the first edition, from the press of the French martyrologist Crespin eight years later the third edition, was issued of a work that for sixty years, nay for a hundred years and more, was to sway England beyond the martyrology of Fox. The Geneva Bible entered England not in surreptitious parcels, like the versions of Tyndale, but with the allowance of primates and bishops; and, if not immediately reprinted here, met with a demand which foreign printers supplied without let.* The elegance

* The first edition by Hall was 1560; the second in 1562, without

of Roman type, in which it first appeared, and the convenience of the division into verses, which it adopted and improved from the Dominican Pagninus, recommended this version; but the pithy, pungent, and voluminous notes which illuminated nearly every chapter were, as with its less tolerated predecessors, not the least among its attractions. Whittingham, the chief editor, the successor of Knox at Frankfort, the brother-in-law of Calvin, had published in Geneva two years previously, in 1558, a version of the New Testament, founded on Tyndale, with profitable annotations; which, though not identical with the corresponding portion of the Geneva Bible, considerably resembled it.* Whittingham arrived in England with the Geneva Bible in his hand, and was promoted immediately, though a layman, to the deanery of Durham. Goodman, another of the company, had printed at Crespin's press in the same year, 1558, the bitter tract on lawful disobedience, which coupled him with Knox in the lasting displeasure of the Queen. The others, Sampson, Gilby, William Cole, were strong Calvinians, soon promoted by the prevalent Evangelic party, soon noted in the Puritan section of the Evangelics.† Their observations on the sacred text were succulent and frugiferous. "Promise ought

printer's name; the third by Crespin in 1568. But this third was really the unsold first with a new title-page.—Dore's *Old Bibles*, p. 207. The same device had been adopted before to sell off Coverdale's unsold Bibles. Seven years later, in 1575, the writer of the *Troubles at Frankfort* complained that the Geneva Bible had found "so small favour as not to be printed again." But if this complaint refer to England, it is not levelled against the English authorities. Perhaps I may remind the reader that the Geneva Bible is the "Breeches Bible": no great rarity.

* See Mr. Dore's valuable work, *Old Bibles*, p. 189.

† Knox and Coverdale were also on the Geneva Bible.—Strype's *Parker*, i. 205.

not to be kept when God's honour and the preaching of His truth is hindered." The locusts of the Apocalypse "are false teachers, heretics, and worldly subtle prelates, with monks, friars, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, doctors, bachelors, and masters which forsake Christ to maintain false doctrine." Upon the awful mystery it was said, "As the only will and purpose of God is the chief cause of election and reprobation, so His free mercy in Christ is an inferior cause of salvation, and the hardening of the heart an inferior cause of damnation." Of King Asa deposing his mother for idolatry, "Herein he shewed that he lacked zeal, for she ought to have died."* This Bible was dedicated to the Queen by "her poor subjects of the English Church at Geneva": a royal privilege for printing it was granted to John Bodley, himself a returned exile, and again to the well-known printer Barker. If the sale at first warranted the murmur of slow, it must soon have quickened, and cannot have flagged, in a work of which two hundred editions yield specimens to posterity. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Parker and Grindal, laid down the noble principle of welcoming all things and fearing nothing, when they declared of the Geneva Bible that "it should nothing hinder but rather do much good to have diversity of translations and readings," and suggested to Cecil that the license to print should not provide that the impression should be submitted to

* I have taken these specimens from Mr. Dore, who gives a good account of the contents of the whole. The first editions contained an Epistle to the Queen which was not reprinted in the later ones. Collier says that the reason why it was not retained was that it exhorted her to abolish two or three ceremonies. But it mentions no particular ceremonies: it merely exhorted her "to root out, cut down, and destroy those weeds and impediments which do not only deface your building, but utterly endeavour, yea and threaten the ruin thereof."

their official oversight.* This principle was to become more and more characteristic of the English Church. It is indeed the breath of her being. It was at this very moment that Rome made the first formal promulgation of the Index.†

On the fourth of June, 1561, about three in the afternoon, in a storm, a flash of lightning struck the spire of the steeple of St. Paul's, and burning downwards to the battlements, stonework, and bells, consumed the steeple itself and all the vast roofs of the church, "which continued terrible and helpless until night."‡ The calamity, which was never entirely repaired, might have seemed to demand the aid of the offerings of the whole community. But the Queen by a letter to the Archbishop laid the greatest of the burden on the spiritual estate: the Archbishop advertised the bishops to tax the clergy according to their

* Bodley the printer applied himself to Cecil for a renewed grant of a license to reprint his Bible. Cecil referred him to the Archbishop and the Bishop of London. They willingly furthered his request, and wrote a frank and generous letter to Cecil, that the book might be printed again without providing for their inspection, although they promised that "no impression should pass without their direction, consent, and advice."—Strype's *Parker*, i. 413, or *Parker's Correspondence*, 261. This may seem a matter of no great moment in these days: but it was, so far as I know, without parallel, in that age, that officials, of such a body as the High Commission, should have welcomed "diversity of translations and readings," and have excused themselves from the work of official examination, even though they guarded this with a promise of private diligence and circumspection.

† The first list of prohibited books was put forth by the dying hand of Paul IV. in 1559. "His Index includes all Bibles in modern languages, enumerating forty-eight editions, chiefly printed in countries still within the obedience of the Church. Sixty-one printers are put under a general ban, all works of every description from their presses being forbidden."—Hallam, *Lit. of Europe*, ii. 265. The Index had been in existence for some time, from about 1543.

‡ Pilkington's *Burning of Paul's*. It is also said that the fire was caused by a plumber, who confessed as much on his death-bed. There is a vivid contemporary description in Stow's *Memoranda*, printed in Gairdner's *Three Chronicles*, Camden Soc., p. 116.

preferments, excepting only those who were then in payment of their firstfruits, informing them also that the least rate that he thought likely to be accepted would be the twentieth of their livings for London, and the thirtieth for the other dioceses.* In the event, the firstfruits gave no exemption but a diminution of the impost: the London clergy granted the twentieth, and those who were in firstfruits the thirtieth; the other dioceses of the province the thirtieth, and those who were in firstfruits the fortieth. By this means from eighteen dioceses more than fourteen hundred pounds was collected: a thousand pounds more was added in three payments by the Bishop of London "of his own benevolence":† the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's contributed one hundred and thirty-six pounds; and a hundred and seventy pounds was got by selling the timber that remained from the fire. The grants of the clergy amounted to more than two thousand six hundred pounds.‡ The Queen was not behind, presenting a thousand marks in gold, and a thousand loads of timber to be taken from her woods. The citizens gave first a large benevolence, and after that three-fifteenths. The generous emulation spread to the legal profession; and while the Lord Chief Justice and the officers of Common Pleas gave thirty-four pounds, the Lord Chief Justice of King's Bench and the officers collected seventeen pounds and more. Of contributions made by the nobility or titled laity nothing is

* The letters are in Strype's *Parker*, i. 104.

† The Bishop of London, Grindal, had a notable device for repairing St. Paul's. The good man knew of an old church in St. Bartholomew's, which had kept its leaden roof on, strange to say. He proposed to take this leaden roof off, and put it on St. Paul's. The laymen interested in that church opposed the scheme: the result was that that church had its leaden roof taken off, but that roof was not taken off to cover St. Paul's with.—Strype's *Grindal*, i. 63.

‡ Stow gives exact tables of the sums contributed.—*Survey*, Bk. iii. 150.

known: but one of them wrote some Latin verses on the occasion.* Presently, under the direction of a committee of citizens and minor canons, the church was covered with boards and lead, in the manner of a false roof, against the weather: and before the end of the year the aisles were all framed with new timber, the great roofs of the east and west were framed with new timber brought from Yorkshire to London by sea, leaded, and fully finished. But further the reparation went not: and the precautions which were to have been taken against a similar calamity in the future, the orders of the Queen, the regulations made by the aldermen after sundry meetings, were penned and delivered, but never published or put in force: a great mischance forewarned in vain against a greater.

This flash enkindled another flame, a fierce little combustion between the Old and the New Learning. Upon the Sunday following, June 8, the Bishop of Durham, Pilkington, preaching at Paul's Cross in sight of the smoking ruins, bade the people take the fire for a warning of amendment of life; drew a picture of the profanity that had been practised there, the talking, buying, selling, fighting, and brawling; and reflected on the disobedience of those who refused the alteration of religion.† "The Causes of the Burning of Paul's Church" was the title of a discourse which has

* Sir Thomas Chaloner wrote a copy of verses on the fire, beginning "Urbs antiqua situ," &c.: and by-and-by proceeding:

"Donec magna gravi casu domus illa Tonantis,
Illa domus, reliquis, ceu Phœbe, augustior astris,
Quæ cælo caput attollens inferre solebat
Mole sua, minor est toto nunc vertice, sævos

Trajectu horrendo qua passa est fulminis ignes," &c.—Stow, *Survey*, Bk. iii. 149. It may be remarked that Stow gives the amount neither of the "great benevolence" nor of the "three-fifteenths" of the citizens.

† The sermon is not known to have been printed: but on June 10, two days after it was preached, a report of the fire was published by

not been preserved. It was speedily answered by an anonymous broadsheet, which was found strewn about the streets, with a sarcastic heading of "An Addition to the Causes." The writer of this, who was Bonner's former chaplain Morwen, not unrenowned in the disputations of the former reign, propounded the alteration of religion to be itself the cause of a divine punishment, and went through the chief matters of the debate between Rome and England. Him Pilkington took into his grasp paragraph by paragraph, after the manner of the time, demolishing his arguments and turning his authorities against himself, generally with success, in a long and laborious treatise. Neither of the two were men of the first order; but so early a handling of the commonplaces of an endless controversy is not void of interest, and may be examined so far as it casts light upon any of the features of the age. Neither of them was to modern eyes very skilful or exact in his appeal to history; both showed considerable knowledge of the Fathers and Schoolmen, Pilkington excelling here, as writing on the larger scale: in language, while Morwen was almost always moderate, Pilkington was abusive and scornful: "scavenger," "blind Papist," "loud lie," "drunken dotel," "rude ass," are of the profusion of his flowers. For the matter, where Morwen said, curiously enough, that St. James "said Mass" in the council of the Apostles and elders at Jerusalem, Pilkington joyously enquired what Mass, whether the Liturgy that bore St. James' name: because, if so, the Romanensians "in the late raging time" of Mary had got hold of some copies

Seres: and this report contains an abstract of the bishop's sermon, which may be seen in Pilkington's *Works*, Park. Soc., 646. It seems from this that the preacher "answered by the way such evil-tongued persons as imputed this token of God's deserved ire to alteration or rather reformation of religion"; and hence kindled controversy.

of that Liturgy with intent of printing it, but when they found how unlike it was to their own Mass, they dropped it. This is an anecdote which is not, perhaps, related elsewhere. Where Morwen lamented that the people of the realm were declined from the steps of Augustine and the blessed saints, who had "Mass and seven Sacraments in the church : every midnight they had matins, all the forenoon Masses in the church, with other divine service and continual prayer ; and in the steeple anthems and prayers at certain times," Pilkington replied very pertinently as to the Sacraments, that it might be thought that the Sacraments were disused in England, whereas the controversy was more about names than things : "We use six of the seven as well as they, though not without good reason we forbear to call them all Sacraments" : and that the only controversy in reality was about Extreme Unction. As to matins at midnight, he asked what holiness was in an hour when folk were in bed : that in Paul's, and in the abbeys formerly, there used to be none present but a few brawling monks, novices, and choristers, the older sort almost never coming. "It was thought enough to knoll the bells and make men believe that they rose to pray." As to the forenoon Masses all going on together in the same church, he said that it was true : there was not a pillar without an altar, and those shameless shavelings, instead of "tarrying one for another" as St. Paul bade, would not receive together one of another, and allow the people to have part with them ; but crept every one into his corner to his altar alone, ate and drank up all alone, sold good pennyworths, and blessed the people with the empty chalice. As for climbing up to the top of the steeple to sing anthems, why should they have done it there rather than on the ground, and why on

one day and not on another? he asked. "The religion now used in the Church was not heard of before Luther's time, about forty years ago," said Morwen; "it is a new-fangled doctrine and schismatical: come back to the blessed old Fathers." It is not so long ago, answered Pilkington, that "the Papists added six more articles to our Creed, which has but twelve.* They crack of antiquity and the blessed old Fathers, but let them prove this Portuise to be above three hundred years old. Pope Paul the Third, not twenty years ago, was so ashamed of his Portuise that he printed a new one. The Feast of Corpus Christi was invented by Pope Urban the Fourth scarce three hundred years since. Lady-day was invented by Urban the Sixth, and is not two hundred years old." He gave a picture of old St. Paul's and the abuses there, which may be hoped to be overcharged. "Without and within, above ground and under, over the roof and beneath, on the top of the steeple and spire down to the low ground, not one spot was free from wickedness. From the top of the spire at coronations or other solemn triumphs, some used to throw themselves by a rope, and so killed themselves for vainglory. In the top of one of the pinnacles is Lollards' Tower, where many an innocent soul has been tormented and murdered.† In the middle alley was their long censer reaching from the roof to the ground. On the arches is that court where innocent Christians have been condemned by Annas and Caiaphas. On every wall, pillar, and door were hung their images; and there were their many altars for their Masses. The south alley was for usury and popery, the north for simony; the horse fair in the

* He meant the Statute of the Six Articles, which he calls a "six-stringed scourge."

† See Vol. IV. p. 479 of this work.

midst for bargains, meetings, brawls, and conspiracies ; the font for ordinary payments of money. The chapel under ground, with the Mass of the Apostles so early in the morning, was not of good repute."* As for schismatical, he contemptuously remarked that for a thousand years almost none had been called schismatics but Papists themselves : that there had been two or three Popes going at a time, and their followers had called one another schismatics : that if it made a service schismatical to differ from another service, then all the old uses, York, Sarum, Bangor, and all the monastic services were schismatical, for they differed every one from the other. In the fierceness of Pilkington the anxiety of the conflict and the issue still uncertain is reflected : he describes his adversaries as by no means despondent, but waiting for a change of affairs, fearing little for themselves because the late penal laws were repealed,† and in general better off than his own friends. He is one of the earliest writers who freely uses the term Protestant. "For the proud Papist there is nothing good enough : for the poor Protestant everything is too good. When the Pope's butchers are aloft, they broil and burn, imprison, hang, torment the silly gospeller at their pleasure : where the Protestant is at the best, he is scarce able to live ; and the lurking Papist looks for his day, when he may run loose again." When Morwen pathetically pointed to the Romanensian prelates in prison, Pilkington's fury ran boundless in contempt. "Divers of these holy prelates that he cracks of had so leased out their houses, lands, and parks, that the

* This was Jesus Chapel, which he here very profanely calls Judas' Chapel. Cf. Vol. IV. p. 704 of this work.

† "They need not to fear their recognizance, fire nor fagot, nor any punishment according as they deserve : their bloody laws are laid on sleep, though their hearts be bloody still" (p. 523).

new bishops had scarce a corner of a house to lie in, or so much ground as to graze a goose : and yet those holy fathers have provided that, if they be restored (as they look for, as many think), that they shall have all their commodities again.* Those holy bishops in imprisonment live more at ease and wealthily than ever they did before, or than Protestants do in their liberty. Mark how like themselves they be ! As long as King Henry and blessed Edward lived, they taught, preached, sware, and believed all that they now deny. Perjury in other men is punished with bearing papers and loss of ears. He cracks of them that they would rather die than agree to any part of this religion, which they taught and ministered before ; but I doubt not but, if they were opposed as they opposed others, they would as soon eat the fagot as feel it burn them."† As both parties were intently watchful of the Queen, the Romanensians still hanging in hope through her dexterous uncertainty, it was but natural that they should retort on one another the dangerous accusation of disobedience. "Where the Queen has given strait commandment to abstain from flesh in Lent, and other days commanded by the Church, the new preachers and Protestants have eaten flesh openly to the great slander of other," observed Morwen ; "there is none more disobedient than the new bishops and preachers." Pilkington's answer on this point was more ingenious than clear : but his essay on fasting contains one or two interesting particulars. "Our wise Popes of late years have devised a monstrous fast on St. Mark's

* He charges "the malicious popish prelates" with having given away their lands by leases, patents, and annuities to women, children, horse-keepers (he said no worse) rather than let their successors enjoy them (p. 594). I have already referred to the case of Bourne, the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

† p. 622.

day : all other fasting days are on the holy day even ; only St. Mark must have his day fasted. Tell us a reason why that will not be laughed at." As to the observance of St. Thomas of Canterbury, "Tell us why the one side of Cheapside fasts that day, being in London diocese, and the other side, being in Canterbury diocese, fasts not. Could not Becket's holiness reach over the street ?" For the rest, when Morwen touches on the consecration of the new bishops, it is to be remarked that he knows nothing of Nag's Head, unconsecrated Barlow, and the rest of the Roman inventions belonging to a later period in that controversy. Pilkington maintains apostolical succession, not in every see, but on the whole. "A succession of bishops or ministers, we grant, has been in the world, rather than in any one see or country since Christ : which succession we say we have and follow better than they, but not after such sort as he says and means." His treatment of this subject is discriminating and interesting ; but would not, it is probable, be accepted by every one.* He bears testimony to the high estimation of Cranmer's book on the Sacrament. "So long as that book stands unconfuted, they may bark against the truth as a dog does against the moon."† He also speaks with admiration of Jewel's answer to Cole.

The activity of Parker in the administration of the Church was exemplary. He directed all ministers to begin their daily services at eight in the morning. He forbade the bishops to admit to the order of readers,

* p. 557.

† He speaks as if Ridley had been known to have written part of it. "I refer all men to the fifth and last book that the blessed souls now living with God, bishops Cranmer and Ridley, wrote of the Sacrament, whose bodies they cruelly tormented therefore. . . . Stout Stephen would gladly have overthrown that book, but God confounded him, and their names live for ever" (p. 547 ; cf. p. 523).

until Convocation should meet and consider.* The inconvenience of mechanical persons in that office was both felt and acknowledged early. He stopped an abuse in his own Courts of Arches and Audience, the officials of which were commonly wont to entertain appeals from the bishops of the dioceses, and issue inhibitions to stay their proceedings, particularly in correction of morals, and having brought the matters from the bishops to themselves, to go no further in them, to the great frustration of discipline. Parker wrote a sharp letter about this to his chancellor and his Dean of Arches.† He was not a Pope, to pamper a curia. He undertook the great work of a metropolitan visitation, issuing commissions to Visitors for the dioceses, and inhibiting in the meantime the visitations of the ordinaries. This business extended over more than a year. He began it by writing round to his bishops to know the state of their clergy; how many were neither priests nor deacons, whether resident, learned, able to preach; whereto the answer of Cox, alone preserved, spoke sadly of Ely, that of the total sum of 152 cures there were but a third that were duly served.‡ He began it in his own church and diocese, where, in the chapter-house, in September, 1560, the dean, Wotton, the prebendaries, minor canons, and preachers, among them Becon, Bale, Nowell, and Goodrick, were assembled and made mutual presentations: that the prebendaries came not to the daily services: that the ministers were negligent: that the minor canons were drunkards, railers, jesters, and disobedient: that of the minor canons there were but seven instead of twelve, men out of

* Strype's *Parker*, Bk. i. 90.

† *Ib.* p. 71.

‡ His return is in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 5813, f. 105 (85)). See Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 239 and note.

the town supplying the vacant rooms: and Bale and Goodrick presented that the arms of Pole and his cardinal's hat were hung up in the church, which they thought not decent or tolerable but abominable. The Articles to be Enquired, which were adhibited here, were used in other chapter-houses throughout the province. They turned on residence, attendance, decency, and efficiency in church and school; particularly whether priestly garments were worn in ministrations, whether they who ministered were all ministers, whether men were discouraged from soberly reading the Holy Scriptures by the members of the Church, or were by them persuaded "not to conform themselves to the order of religion reformed, restored, and received by public authority in the Church of England": and whether the members of the Church maintained or extolled "any superstitious religion," such as relics and pilgrimages, lighting of candles, kissing, kneeling, decking of images, praying in an unknown tongue rather than English, trusting in a certain number of paternosters, purgatory, private masses, or trentals. With equal voice it was enquired whether any of them said or taught that infants should not be baptised, that every Article of the Creed was not to be believed of necessity, that sin after baptism was not remissible by penance, that any man lived without sin, that it was lawful to take upon him the ministry without outward calling, that the word of God prohibited the regiment of women, and other errors of that extreme.* Besides these Articles for the cathedral churches, there were other Articles to be Enquired, for the use of the dioceses at large, going over much of the same ground; but in the enquiries after morals and manners showing the determination

* Strype's *Parker*, i. 74.

of maintaining the discipline of the Church so far as it was possible.*

Rochester was visited next after Canterbury by the same Visitors: before whom a returned exile, Richard Turner, now vicar of Dartford, preached a sermon.† Lichfield was visited by a doctor of laws: three Welsh dioceses by their bishops metropolitically: but only one of their three cathedral churches by its bishop. The diocese, but not the cathedral church, of Bath and Wells was visited by the Bishop of Bath and Wells: the diocese, but not the cathedral church, of Salisbury by the Bishop of Salisbury. Peterborough and Gloucester were visited by doctors: Bristol by Doctor Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury.‡

If the zeal of the newly appointed prelates was with wisdom restrained from their own episcopal, and yet by the chief pastor cautiously admitted to a share of his metropolitical, it may at the same time have been further enlarged and employed in the service of a royal visitation. For in the summer of 1561 a royal visitation appears to have been proceeding: and it was to the minister Cecil that Horne, Best, Scory, or Pilkington reported their investigations. "I have laboured to bring the city of Winchester to uniformity in religion," said Horne, "to have the cures served that the Common Prayer might be frequented, which has not been done since the massing time; and also that good and sound doctrine might be taught, but I cannot bring it to pass. There are not lacking priests in the cathedral church to inculcate superstition and popery. I can see no way but to unite some

* Strype's *Parker*, App. xi.

† *Ib.* i. 75.

‡ *Ib.* i. 76. The reason why some bishops were not commissioned to visit their own cathedral churches was to preserve some rights or immunities claimed by some chapters.

of these small city livings. The inhabitants are very stubborn, and in the shire there are sundry which hinder as much as they can the proceedings in religion.”* He added, in another letter, that he had visited a good part of Surrey, and that so far those who had appeared before him were not “repugnant to the ordinances of the realm concerning religion, neither the ministers dissenting from the same,” and that they had subscribed to the declaration for uniformity of doctrine. Nevertheless he found many churches destitute of incumbents, much more of able men to perform the charge, many also of such small living that they could not entertain any minister at all: of the absent there were some through wilfulness, some on the pretence of serving noblemen.† In another he said that people shifted from one diocese to another, where the dealing was less severe:‡ in another, that in Oxford, where he was Visitor of three colleges, there was open refusal of the supremacy, the Prayer Book, and the Injunctions.§ “My travail taketh less effect than my zeal desireth,” said Best of Carlisle; “lies and tales are blown about secretly, that men may look and prepare for a change. The people do say what they will concerning religion. It is far worse since the great men came. If you could see the rule of Cumberland and Westmorland under the two heads thereof, it would cause you to weep. Certain evil men will neither acknowledge the Queen’s supremacy nor obey me as ordinary, and these men

* See Horne’s letter at large in Tierney’s *Dodd*, vol. ii. App. xlv.

† *State Papers, Dom., Eliz.*, xvii. 23 (*Cal.*, p. 177).

‡ *Ib.*, xix. 36 (*Cal.*, p. 184).

§ In this letter he says that he endeavoured the due conformity of religion; but had to deprive Coveney of Magdalen, and the President of Corpus Christi; and that New College refused to subscribe to the supremacy, &c., partly through disowning his authority, partly that their statutes bound them to Mass.—*Ib.* 56 (*Cal.*, p. 186).

are supported and kept in place, though the contrary commandment was given by my lord of York and the Commissioners in these parts.”* In another letter Best says that he had preached three times in the cathedral church of Carlisle: that the common people declared that they had been deceived: that the priests were “wicked imps of Antichrist, for the most part very ignorant and stubborn, past measure false and subtle.”† Bishop Scory of Hereford remarked great disorders in his cathedral church, “a very nursery of blasphemy, incontinence, pride, superstition, and ignorance.”‡ He lamented the tenacity with which the former religion held its ground, through maintenance of popish justices. “On Thursday no butcher dared open shop to sell flesh; next day no gospeller or other durst work at his occupation, so carefully was the abrogate fast and holiday there kept. Havard, my Lord Treasurer’s man, and Scudamore, justice of peace, rule mayor and city. The same keeping of fasts has happened before. I have brought the county to conformity of the laws herein by punishing of divers transgressors, yet the city being exempt from my jurisdiction remaineth as before. Mug, Blaxton, Arden, Gregory, Ely, Havard, that were driven out of Exeter, Worcester, and other places,

* Given in full in Tierney’s *Dodd*, vol. ii. App. xlv.

† In this letter he says further that the gentry received him kindly, in particular Lord Wharton and Lady Musgrave: that only fear made the priests obedient, but that only three absented themselves from his visitation and fled because they would not subscribe: two of whom belonged to Lord Dacres and one to the Earl of Cumberland: that he had assigned days to them under danger of deprivation. Twelve or thirteen churches under Dacres at Gilsland did not appear, and at Stapleton; and sundry of the others have yet Mass openly. He was waiting for aid from the Council of the North. He doubted not by policy to make them obedient. The Lord Warden of the Marches and Dacres were too great friends.—*State Papers, Dom., Eliz.*, xviii. 21 (*Cal.*, p. 180).

‡ June 21, 1561.—*Cal. of State Papers, Dom.*, p. 177.

have been so maintained, feasted, and magnified with bringing them through the streets with torchlight in the winter, that they could not much more reverently have entertained Christ Himself. I have had letters seven or eight weeks from the commissioners in London for Mug, Blaxton, and Arden for their appearance; but Scudamore kept them, and the letters could not be delivered. I am in this country a mere stranger, abhorred for the most part for religion, being among them not without danger. Among the worshipful of the shire there are not many favourers of true religion. If it was not for fear of the honourable House and Council of the Marches, the event would soon declare my writing herein to be true. Havard must be got rid of as justice.*—"The more I try the more grief I find," wrote Pilkington of Durham. "Here is a double jurisdiction; whether is more troublesome I well know not. Master Fleetwood surely has done good service for the time: would that I had such a helper. I can testify to the state of the country. There need rather power and authority to be given than taken away. They understand the taking away of the bishop's living; whereby my power is the less, and the less am I regarded. Westmorland is non-resident; Evers of no great power: the worshipful of the shire set against me: the people rude and heady, and by these occasions more bold." In another letter he again refers to his limited power as bishop: "I do not see that they will be ruled without a great power and of him whom they fear. They see how small the bishop's power is, and therefore they contemn it. I am grown into such displeasure with them, part for religion, and part for ministering the oath of the Queen's superiority, that I know not whether they

* Aug. 17, 1561.—*State Papers, Dom., Eliz.*, xix. 24 (*Cal.*, p. 183).

like me worse or I them, so great dissembling, so poisonous tongues, and malicious minds I have not seen. Like St. Paul at Ephesus, I have to fight with wild beasts. The last day of my visitation, a young priest, being called with his churchwardens to take his oath as the rest to present such things as were amiss according to the Queen's injunctions, refused on the ground that the Injunctions were on authority that he could not allow. Only the Pope has spiritual authority. This boldness the people grow into because they see that such as refuse to acknowledge their due allegiance not only escape punishment, but are had in authority and estimation."* At the same time there are traces of at least one ordinary or episcopal visitation proceeding along with these metropolitanical and royal enquiries: and if Parkhurst were reputed slack, yet Parkhurst attempted to ascertain the prevalent abuses in Norwich.†

To return to the activity of Parker. He appointed proper lessons for Sundays to be read in churches,

* *State Papers, Dom., Eliz.*, xx. 5 and 25 (*Cal.*, pp. 187, 188), Oct. and Nov., 1561.

† Parkhurst's Injunctions of 1561 are printed in the Appendix of the Second Ritual Commission Report. Among other things, he requires men in Orders to say the Morning and Evening Prayers daily in English or Latin, either openly or privately, that they may be the more ready in the Scriptures; not to suffer the Lord's table to be hanged and decked like an altar, nor use any gesture of the popish Mass in time of ministration: "every week to read and peruse two chapters of the New Testament, beginning with St. Matthew and St. John." Also, young unmarried folk not to be married before they can say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments: and to go and hear children catechised. He enquires, "Whether any that took Orders in King Edward's days, not contented with that, were ordered again in Queen Mary's days?" which seems to strengthen the conclusion that such cases were rare (cf. Frere's *Marian Reaction*, 318). He enquires "Whether any parson or vicar findeth but a reader under him where he should find a minister?" and "Whether any reader being admitted but to read, taketh upon him to baptise, to marry, to celebrate the Lord's Supper, or to distribute the Lord's Cup?"

instead of the chapters in course, as heretofore: and caused new calendars to be printed for the Book of Common Prayer.* Finding great neglect in many churches, and especially chancels, of which were so many in lay impropriation, in keeping them decent and in good repair, he exerted himself to amend such disorder under authority of the Queen's letters. As lawless and incestuous marriages much prevailed, he set up an Admonition in churches, with the prohibited degrees.† The Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes,

* Strype, *Annals*, i. 225, gives rather a confused account of this. Cf. Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* i. 260. The whole history of the Lessons, or of the English Lectionary, is complicated and curious. 1. The First Prayer Book of Edward contained the lessons in course, with proper lessons for about twelve holy days. 2. The Second Book of Edward contained proper lessons for eighteen of the holy days, and for three great Sundays. 3. The first edition of the Elizabethan Book, 1559, contained proper lessons for all Sundays and holy days. 4. But some of these being thought such as might with edification be exchanged for other lessons, the Queen issued letters to Parker, Grindal, Bill, and Haddon, as Ecclesiastical Commissioners, "to peruse the order of the said lessons throughout the year, and to cause some new calendars to be imprinted, whereby such chapters or parcels of less edification may be removed, and other more profitable may supply their rooms"; Jan. 22, 1560.—Cardwell, 262; *Dom. Cal.* 170. Hereupon Parker and his fellows made some alterations in the lessons (look at Collier, vi. 334, ed. 1840): and, I believe, these were adopted in the next Prayer Book, that of James I., 1604. Parker's work, the appointment of lessons for every occasion, was made a grievance by the Evangelicals. See Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, i. 143. The subject will recur.

† "An Admonition for the necessity of the present time, till a further consultation, to all such as shall intend hereafter to enter the state of matrimony," godly and agreeable to laws.—Strype's *Parker*, i. 87; Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* i. 282, and note. Parker's remarks on this subject are extremely able. The case of marrying a wife's sister is affirmed to be implicitly decided by Scripture: and in the Articles of Lambeth (another of these Parkerian codes, to be considered hereafter) is put thus: "It is agreed, that all such marriages as have been contracted within the Levitical degrees be dissolved: and namely, those who have married two sisters one after another; who are by common consent judged to be within the case."—Strype's *Parker*, i. 98; Cardwell, 267. Strype has also printed a long letter to the same purpose, written by Jewel in answer to an unknown correspondent, and annotated by Parker;

commonly called the High Commission, sat in Lambeth : their minutes are not known, but it may be that they gave occasion to the frequent confabulations of bishops there, out of which arose several important resolutions or regulations, under the guidance of the Primate. One of these was a meditation on the Queen's Injunctions : out of which came in time Nowell's *Catechism*, which was designed "for the erudition of simple curates," in distinction to the short Catechism for all baptised persons ; and likewise the Second Book of Homilies, of which the subjects were now fixed and divided among the bishops :* out of which came also a Latin declaration, to be read twice a year by the clergy, to ensure uniformity and stay the secretly disaffected from varying, directed against the old errors, and remarkably clear and learned ; and out of this Latin declaration proceeded an English declaration to the same effect and purpose, often cited as the Eleven Articles, which was more diffuse and not so satisfactory.† Another was a brief set of " Resolutions

concluding that "When God commands me that I should not marry my brother's wife, it follows by the same directly that I should not marry my wife's sister."—App. to *Parker's Life*, No. xix.

* Strype, *Annals*, i. 213 ; Cardwell, i. 204. The subjects or "arguments" prescribed or suggested are "the sacrifice of the Mass, the Common Prayer to be in English, that every particular church may alter and change the public rites and ceremonies of their church, keeping the substance of the faith inviolably, with such like." Every bishop was to have two, and the Bishop of London four to write. Among the other points that might be noticed in these "Interpretations and further Considerations" of the Injunctions are, that churchwardens were to report once a month those who "would not readily pay their fines for not coming to divine service according to the statutes" : that the cope should be used in ministering the Lord's Supper : that Arians, Pelagians, and Freewillers should be shut up in a castle in North Wales or Wallingford, to labour for their livelihood and see no one but their keepers. This notable device may be compared with the Wisbech experiment on the Roman-ensians.

† Strype, *Ann.* i. 216 ; Cardwell, i. 208. Both these Declarations

and Orders taken by common consent of the bishops," until a synod might be had: in which there was promised a homily to declare the virtue and efficacy of

are founded on the Forty-two Articles, the latter indeed beginning with the first of those Articles. The latter is distinguished by Hardwick as the *Eleven Articles*: a description and summary may be seen in his *Hist. of Articles*, ch. vi., and he well observes that the Eleven Articles avoid all speculative topics. The device of ordering them to be read by the clergy twice a year was a far severer test than mere subscription, as he truly observes: it was an ingenious invention. In these Articles may perhaps be noticed the account given of Private Masses: "Private masses were never used among the fathers of the primitive church: I mean, public administration, and receiving of the Sacrament by the priest alone without a just number of communicants, according to Christ's saying *Take ye and eat ye.*" The simultaneous Latin set, of twenty-four Articles, was probably never enforced on the clergy, though so designed. These by no means avoid speculative topics, and are admirably precise; as in such a statement as "*Scholastica Transubstantiatio probari non potest ex sacris literis.*" It runs nearer to the Forty-two Articles than the English set runs: and may be considered one of the little chains between the Forty-two and the Thirty-nine. Hardwick, who takes Strype's incidental description to supply the title which they lack, and knows them as *The Articles of the Principal Heads of Religion*, has noted the places where they touch the Forty-two, as follows:—vii. of 42, about the Three Creeds: hereto the *Principal Heads* adds, "*Qui istis non crediderint inter veros Catholicos non sunt recipiendi*"; xx. of 42, of the Church, is the same as 39: but here the *Principal Heads* has, "*Ecclesia Christi est in qua purum Dei verbum prædicatur, et sacramenta juxta Christi ordinationem administrantur: et in qua clavium autoritas retinetur*"; xxiv. of 42, of ministering in the congregation, is the same as 39: but here the *Principal Heads* has, "*Absque externa et legitima vocatione non licet cuiquam sese ingerere in aliquod ministerium ecclesiasticum velulare*"; xxv. of 42, on tongue understood, is not the same as 39: the *Principal Heads* is better than either: "*Preceptum Dei est ut quæ leguntur in ecclesia illa lingua proferantur quæ ab ecclesia intellegatur*"; xxvi. of 42, on Sacraments, is nearly the same as 39: in *Principal Heads* it is, "*Christus tantum duo sacramenta expresse nobis commendat, baptisma et eucharistiam: quibus gratia confertur rite summentibus, etiamsi malus sit minister: et non prosunt indigne summentibus quantumvis bonus sit minister*"; xxix. of 42, of the Lord's Supper, is the same as 39 on the points located as follows in *Principal Heads*: "*Cœna Dominica non est tantum symbolum mutuae benevolentiae Christianorum inter se, sed magis symbolum est nostræ redemptionis per Christi mortem et nostræ conjunctionis cum Christo. Ubi fidelibus vere datur et exhibetur communio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini*"; xxxi. of 42, on single life, is answered by *Principal*

the Sacrament. Another was a short set of Articles, part approbative of the former devices and of the Declaration; ordering the readers to be again reviewed by every ordinary, ordering ministers not to be allowed to serve without examination, all old service books, grailes, antiphoners, and other, to be defaced and abolished in visitations: and, curious to read, "that priests deprived and other private chaplains" should be commended, by discretion of the ordinary, in the great necessity that existed, to serve in cures on pain of excommunication.*

Heads much the same but shorter; xxxiii. of 42, of Traditions of the Church, is without the declaration, which the 39 has, of particular or national churches having power to alter ceremonies: *Principal Heads* has this declaration with admirable terseness: "Quævis ecclesia particularis auctoritatem instituendi mutandi et abrogandi ceremonias et ritus ecclesiasticos habet, modo ad decorem, ordinem et ædificationem fiat"; xxxvi. of 42, about magistrates, has the old Supreme Head: *Principal Heads* has "Elizabetha regina Angliæ est unicus et supremus gubernator hujus regni et omnium dominiorum et regionum suarum quaruncunque tam in rebus et causis ecclesiasticis quam temporalibus." In the same article it adds to "Romanus Pontifex nullam habet jurisdictionem," the words "nec alia quæcunque potestas extranea": and for the sake of John Knox and his fellows, "Verbum Dei non prohibet feminarum regimen." It may be further remarked that the famous declaration of Art. xxx., both in the 42 and the 39, "Missarum sacrificia, quibus vulgo dicebatur sacerdotem offerre Christum," &c., has a much milder and yet decisive counterpart in *Principal Heads*: "Missa, ut consuevit a sacerdotibus dici, non erat a Christo instituta, sed a multis Romanis pontificibus consarcinata. Nec est sacrificium propitiatorium pro vivis et defunctis." In *Principal Heads* there is an article on Marriage: excellent; this: "Matrimonium inter Christianos legitime juxta verbum Dei initum et contractum est indissolubile, nec per traditiones hominum unquam convellendum."

* The "Resolutions and Orders" are mentioned by Strype, *Parker*, i. 92. The "Articles agreed upon at the Second Session in Lambeth," April 12, 1561, are in the same work, i. 97, and in Cardwell, i. 264. They were signed by Parker, Grindal, and Cox: the Archbishop of York, Young, was also concerned in them, and probably others of the bishops. The item about priests deprived is wrongly printed by Cardwell, who has "commanded by the ordinary's direction" for "commended by the ordinary's discretion," which Strype gives. The

If it move, perhaps it may, a sigh that a very eminent and learned prelate should have renewed the destructive pursuit of the old service books, so dangerous considered he them to be, yet it may be admitted that it was learning that set him against them; because from his own studies he perceived how much they varied from the most ancient liturgies and offices of the Christian Church.* Of the irreparable losses which literature sustained in that age from the ravage of other books of every kind, he was not insensible, and has spoken with indignation: now by his own literary undertakings he was greatly confirming in the Church of England a character which she had never wholly lost; of soundness, plainness, honesty, dignity: and the instincts and pursuits of Parker were exactly those that were most valuable to his age. His point of view was historical. His lives of the archbishops of Canterbury, which he entitled *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, is his own enduring and honourable monument as a writer. He surrounded himself with antiquaries, and maintained a constant intercourse with collectors of every kind. It was his practice to interchange books and manuscripts with them: to give and receive suggestions for mutual improvement: and it is his glory, living close

latter reading is intelligible: it means that some of them might be chosen.

* "He utterly disliked the public offices of the present Roman Church, because they varied so much from the ancient."—Strype, *Parker*, ii. 530. His dislike was indeed bitter, for he wrote in his Register that "If the Bishop of Rome's laws, decrees, decretals, extravagants . . . had leaped out of our libraries, and so become coverings for books coming from the foreign nations, we might well have been therewith contented. But to put our ancient chronicles, our noble histories, our learned commentaries, and homilies upon the Scriptures to so homely an office, we have greatly dishonoured our nation, and shewn ourselves very wicked to posterity."—Quoted by Strype, *Ib.*, 529.

under the great religious revolution of the century, to have done what might be done to gather what was retrievable from the wreck of the literary past. He enriched the library of his own college, the libraries of his own university and of Oxford, by ceaseless and generous benefactions. His learned friendship with Bale, the founder of English biography, with Fox the historian of the English terror, with Lombard the antiquary, with the lettered statesman Cecil, is celebrated by the writer of his life and acts : his interest in books extended itself to typography and embellishment, and John Day, the careful and curious printer, found in him not only a patron but a warm friend and protector.* Parker may be regarded as the founder of clerical scholarship in England.

At the same time it must not be supposed that literature was to Parker no more than the indulgence of a taste. Infirm health much preventing him from the exertion of preaching, he engaged in literature to occupy himself to the profit of the Church.† His main literary performances bore upon one purpose, to prove the continuity of the religion of England from antiquity, and to assert the inherent rights of the English State Ecclesiastical. "My meaning was," he said of his great book, "to note at what time Augustine, my first predecessor, came into this land, what religion he brought in with him, how it continued, how it was fortified and increased, until the days of King Henry the Eighth, when the religion began to grow better, and more agreeable to

* Look at the supplementary "Observations on Archb. Parker" which Strype has given at the end of his *Life*.

† "Neither my health nor my quiet would suffer me to be a common preacher, yet I thought it not unfit for me to be otherwise occupied in some points of religion." Letter to Cecil with his *Antiquities*.—*Correspondence*, 425.

the Gospel.”* To these ends he directed his great labours in editing. He edited Matthew Paris, the most national of the monkish historians. He edited many other monkish histories with learned prefaces. He devoted himself to the restoration of the Anglo-Saxon language, causing types to be struck for exemplifying the remains of it, especially in theology; and although he did this to exhibit the agreement between the primitive English age and the English Reformation in the disputed doctrines, yet his honesty would not permit him to follow a pernicious example in suppressing any passages that favoured Rome.† Of his performances in this kind, perhaps, the most notable was a collection of Saxon homilies, which he entitled *The Testimony of Antiquity, shewing the ancient faith in the Church of England touching the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord*. A long preface described how that “from Worcester, Hereford, and Exeter divers books (that is, in the Saxon tongue) had been delivered into the hands of Archbishop Parker; by whose diligent search for such writings of history, and other monuments of antiquity, as might reveal unto us what hath been the state of our Church in England from time to time, the things which were there made known to the Christian reader were come to light.” Then followed a declaration, which gave official importance to the publication, signed by the two Archbishops, and the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Chichester, Hereford, Ely, Worcester, Lincoln, St. David’s, Lichfield, Norwich, Carlisle, and Bangor, that although the sermon following spoke of the Mass profiting the quick and dead, of the mixture of water with the wine, and of some miracles, yet these things “were but by the way touched, but the full and

* *Correspondence*, 425.

† See next note.

whole discourse of the sermon is about the understanding of the Sacramental bread and wine, how it is the Body and Blood of Christ our Saviour : by which is revealed and made known what hath been the common taught doctrine of the Church of England on this behalf many hundred years ago, contrary to the unadvised writing of some nowadays." Hereupon follow Ælfric's sermon on Easter Day, "Of the Paschal Lamb," several pieces from his *Canons*, *Liber Penitentialis*, and *Epistles* : then the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in old English from various sources, to prove that it was no novel thing to require them. The Saxon is given with a translation into common English on the opposite page.* The man who thus laboured to set historical investigation on the foot of absolute veracity was the first to understand the extraordinary greatness, which has been but scantily and tardily acknowledged since, of the literary character of his martyred predecessor : and when Parker said of Cranmer that "he would as much rejoice to win some of the lost writings of that prelate as he would to restore an old chancel to reparation," the standard of value that he applied bore witness both to his taste and to his fidelity to that which was the prime and main business of his life, the care of the Church of England.

* There is a copy of this tract in 16mo in the British Museum, "Imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling over Aldersgate beneath St. Martin's" : without date, conjectured to be of 1567 : with colophon to Ælfric's sermon, "This sermon is found in divers books of sermons written in the old English or Saxon tongue, whereof two books be now in the hands of the Most Reverend Father the Archbishop of Canterbury." Ælfric's Paschal Sermon had been previously printed by Fox in his great work : and I am sorry to add, on the testimony of Strype, "He hath left out several passages which contained some legendary miracles relating to the Sacrament, and some particular passages which look favourably towards the doctrine of the Church of Rome : which are not omitted in the Archbishop's edition of the book."—*Parker*, ii. 531.

In a conversation with the Queen about the end of his first year, one of the many which Bishop Quadra reported, remark being made of the great concourse of Flemings and Dutchmen, who with their families and households were flocking into England from the States on account of religion, she replied "that they were all welcome, and that she at least would never fail them." * She fulfilled her promise sufficiently, as she deemed, in the settlement which she granted them in London, under the authority of the Bishop of London. But they still arrived, and the opinions of many among them were not acceptable to the allowed Congregations, to whom they sought, but were not permitted to join themselves. A Proclamation was issued about the end of her second year, in which the danger of corruption of the realm, and of the increase of sects contrary to the unity of the Church established, through the pernicious opinions of Anabaptists and others coming from parts beyond the seas, "against the professors of the Gospel of Christ," was strongly set forth. The Archbishop, the Bishop of London, and other bishops of the Ecclesiastical Commission, it would appear, were ordered to visit severely all towns suspected, and openly to try and examine all who held fantastic and heretical opinions: and those who would not by charitable teaching be reconciled, were ordered to depart the realm in twenty days.† In consequence of this enquiries were made, but with a deliberation which seems at variance with the reputation of the High Commission in general history. After two years one

* Quadra to Feria, Dec. 18, 1559.—*Span. Cal.*, p. 118.

† Sept. 22, 1560. This Proclamation touched not only aliens but "all manner of persons born either in foreign parts or in her majesty's dominions." This may have been one reason why it was almost inoperative, as it seems to have been. This Proclamation is also printed in *Grindal's Remains*, Park. Soc. 297.

of the allowed ministers, Hamstedius, was convened before Bishop Grindal as a favourer of the Anabaptists : he was discovered to share their errors : continuing obstinate, he was excommunicated by the Bishop, and the excommunication was declared on the Sunday following in the Dutch church ; and Hamstedius retired beyond seas.* His final expulsion was pressed upon the Commissioners by the laymen of the Privy Council.† The contest between his faction and the rest of the strangers, “professors of the Gospel,” had been so warm, that a few months after the Queen’s Proclamation, Peter Martyr found it necessary to interpose a persuasive of peace in an epistle “To the Church of Strangers in the City of London.”‡ Archbishop Parker in the meantime had also been enquiring into the state of the strangers within his diocese at Sandwich, whether French or Dutch. Riding thither one Sunday morning early for detection’s sake, he found them “very godly in the Sabbath day, and busy in their work on the weekday,” quiet and peaceable with their neighbours. But though little was espied that came under ecclesiastical laws, he deputed their minister, a grave and learned man, to exercise by his authority ecclesiastical

* Strype gives some account of the opinions of Hamstedius, *Ann.* i. 117. The Articles of recantation proposed to him by Grindal are in the *State Papers of Eliz., Dom.*, xxiii. 67 (*Cal.* 203) of July 31, 1562. There is a letter of Grindal’s (Sep. 8, 1562) to Cecil, praising the Queen’s kindness to persecuted strangers, and saying that he has required the French and Dutch ministers to give him a list of their communicants.—*Dom. Cal.* 205.

† “A letter to the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes to take order for the avoiding of one Hadrian Hamslede (*sic*) a Dutchman, out of the realm, being found obstinate in divers erroneous opinions, according to the minute remaining in the Council Chest.”—Dasent’s *Acts of the Privy Council*, p. 127. Aug. 19, 1562.

‡ Feb. 15, 1561.—Collier, vi. 332 (ed. 1840).

censures, as he should see cause.* This minister, with the elders, thereupon, two years afterwards, proceeded to excommunicate four of the congregation: with whom the Archbishop dealt tenderly, and appears to have effected their restoration after penance.† But some of the disaffected resorted to Norwich, where the bishop, Parkhurst, was notoriously slack in dealing with erroneous opinions, incurring the blame both of Cecil and Parker.‡

Ireland had been retained in peace and regularity in the reign of Mary by the Earl of Sussex, a meritorious Deputy, who was continued by Elizabeth. But the ample commission which renewed his authority seemed to breathe the spirit of apprehension when it provided for the extreme punishment of rebels and invaders, the forfeiture and transference of lands, and the occasional declaration of martial law. Among the rest it spoke of vacant ecclesiastical promotions, vicarages, prebends, chapels, chantries, archdeaconries, to be filled by meet and proper persons: it spoke of fealty and of renunciations to be made by archbishops and bishops.§ The alteration of religion in England

* Parker to Cecil, Aug. 27, 1563.—*Parker's Corres.* 189; cf. Strype's *Parker*, i. 139.

† Parkhurst to Parker, Dec. 1565.—*Parker's Corres.* 247, where see footnote.

‡ "The bishop of Norwich is blamed even of the best sort for his remissness in ordering his clergy. He winketh at schismatics and Anabaptists, as I am informed." Cecil to Parker, Aug. 1561.—*Ib.* 149. "My lord of Norwich hath got him a commission to good purpose, *scilicet*. I have sent for him, but if you the Council lay not your helping hand to it, as ye did once in Hooper's days, all that is done is but to be laughed at." Parker to Cecil, March, 1565.—*Ib.* p. 234.

§ Rymer, xv. 533 (July 3, 1559). This instrument contains an early indication of the policy of plantation, afterwards much carried out in this reign. "Dictos Rebelles congregiendum eosque invadendum, vincendum et castigandum: et, si opus fuerit, terras ipsorum aliis qui Nobis servire volunt et intendunt . . . locandum et dimittendum."

was indeed to be extended once more to the sister kingdom, and this was to be the cause of new commotions. And yet the indifference of the Irish to speculative opinions, or the ignorance which held them from the movements of the age, might have acquiesced in another transformation : an incurious people might have followed a clergy counselling submission and conformity, if it had not been that Roman emissaries, continually arriving from Italy and the Spanish dominions, infused into their minds the mistaken belief that they had always loved the Pope. They had always hitherto detested in him the patron of their English enemies. Now that the English had broken with the Pope, however, they passed into oblivious love and reverence at an instructed whisper : and were ready at the same instigation to perceive and recoil from the pollution of heresy and schism.

The Deputy, who had once called a Parliament to establish the alterations of Mary in religion, now called another to establish the alterations of Elizabeth.* In the House of Commons the representatives of ten counties only, with the burgesses of those towns in which the royal power was preponderant, made a total of no more than seventy-six. In the other house, of the nineteen prelates not more than two, Walsh and Leverous, of Meath and Kildare, were strenuous adherents of the existing system : but on the other hand most of the temporal Lords were those whose descendants have been in modern days firmly attached to the Church of the Pope. In a session of a few weeks in January, 1560, not without opposition, the

* Lingard, to whom I owe it, expresses this observation differently. "In the last reign he had called a parliament to establish, in this he called another to abolish, the Catholic worship" (ch. vi. 314). He does not go so far as to say the Catholic faith.

whole ecclesiastical arrangement of Mary was repealed in a series of statutes answerable to Elizabeth's first Parliament.* The ecclesiastical jurisdiction was restored to the Crown: the new Oath of Supremacy was prescribed on the kingdom: the new revised Book of Common Prayer was ordered, and all subjects were commanded under penalty to attend the public service in the churches. The firstfruits and twentieths, for it was not the tenths that was demanded in Ireland, were restored to the Crown. The old process of the *congé d'élire*, in collation of prelates, was abolished for appointment by letters patent. The Priory of St. John of Jerusalem was again attached to the Crown, the prior Messingberd, flying, long suspected of fomenting insurrection with the Irish, called to surrender within forty days. But the enactment was easier than the execution of such laws. Ministers who understood the English tongue were rare: if an Irish version of the English Service were meditated, the Irish language was difficult to print, and few could read the Irish letters. The clergy who could not or would not conform to the English use abandoned their cures: none could be found to fill their places; the people were left without religious worship. In face of the difficulty of enforcing the new laws, the Government

* "The Catholic religion has been suppressed in Ireland, though not without great opposition. I cannot write about this as I should like, as I am so troubled, and perhaps your Lordship would be more troubled still, were I to tell you what I suspect about it. If we are content to let God's cause go by the board, it will not take much to drag us down with it." Quadra to Feria, Feb. 1560.—*Span. Cal.* 127. "In Ireland the Parliament passed the same decree about religion as here, though against great opposition, in spite of the refusal of the Earl of Desmond and others to take any part in it. Preachers and books are being sent there." Quadra to the Duchess of Parma.—*Ib.* 128. "They only passed it with so much opposition and tumult that five bishops were arrested, &c. The decree has been carried out in Dublin, and the rest of the country has been given until May." Quadra to Philip II.—*Ib.* 132.

was obliged to show indulgence ; and in the case of the archsee of Armagh, to permit the chapter to elect, as if the statute abolishing the *congé d'élire* had never been passed.* The fascination of a mysterious throne and person, which the monarchical form of the Papacy enables it to exercise, is strongest where interest and passion are combined with ignorance. Its faithful agents were successful in their work. The feuds and friendships of the dynasts and toparchs, continued or renewed from this juncture, need not detain the reader : save that the exploits of the renowned Shane O'Nial, the claimant of Ulster, the alternate friend and foe of England, the equal ally of England's Queen, may briefly require his regard. Shane, eldest son of the Earl of Tyrone, had been excluded by Henry the Eighth from the succession, which was granted to his bastard brother : but Shane was acknowledged by the Irish to be the head of the family : he vigorously assailed the usurping line ; and claimed the sovereignty of all Ulster. He expressed so stern an hatred of the English as to hang a retainer for degenerately supporting life on an English biscuit, and to build a fort with a native title which signified "Faugh to an Englishman." His turbulence compelled the Lord Deputy to march against him : but before hostilities had proceeded far, overtures were made on both sides for an accommodation. Shane professed the fairest intentions, Sussex made great concessions : an equitable treaty was concluded : the Irish chieftain

* T. Leland, *Hist. Irel.* ii. 225 ; J. B. Gordon, *Hist. Irel.* i. 255. Perhaps it may be worth observing that this Irish Act of 1559 laid down that letters patent should answer both for election and confirmation. The Act of 1 Edw. VI. c. 2 was to the same effect, that the king should collate by letters patent : which letters patent should answer to an election "and the same confirmed." This Act, the reader will remember, had been repealed for England by 1 Eliz. c. 1.

attended the Lord Deputy to Dublin, swore allegiance, and undertook to repair to London to visit the Queen in a manner suited to his princely dignity. He appeared surrounded by a guard of gallowglasses in their native habiliments: whose bare heads, flowing hair, saffron vests, open sleeves, short coats, and hairy mantles excited the astonishment of those who thought that they beheld the inhabitants of another quarter of the globe. He expressed his contrition by howling, was received with gracious condescension, and departed content. To Elizabeth the affair appeared the submission of a rebel: but to O'Nial it was a treaty between potentates.*

This great chieftain, with a secrecy which eluded not Cecil's spies, attended Mass in the house of the Spanish ambassador, with a dozen of his followers, and was commended to the King of Spain as a valuable auxiliary in the strong intervention in the English affairs which Philip was already beginning to contemplate.† Soon

* This was in 1562. The authority is Camden, who adds that the English courtiers, noting the haughtiness and barbarity of O'Nial, "devised his style thus: O'Nial the great; cousin to St. Patrick, friend to the Queen of England, enemy to all the world besides." According to Cecil, O'Nial appeared in open presence in the afternoon, and made a submission, devised both in Irish and English, "which he made upon his knees, and first prostrate upon his face." Cecil to Sussex.—T. Wright's *Elizabeth and her Times*, i. 87.

† "Shane O'Nial and ten or twelve of his principal followers have received the Holy Sacrament in my house with the utmost secrecy, as he refused to receive the Queen's Communion. He has assured me that he is and will be perfectly steadfast on the question of religion. As to the rest, if his Majesty should intend to mend matters here radically, as he writes me from Spain, I think this man will be a most important instrument." Quadra to Cardinal Granvelle, April 3, 1562.—*Span. Cal.* 235. The King's letter, to which Quadra refers, contains this grave intimation, "We have not yet been able to come to a resolution as to the steps to be taken to remedy the evils, which must be attacked at their roots, and as the matter is so grave and weighty and difficult it must be deeply considered jointly with the state of our own affairs." Philip to Quadra, Feb. 9.—*Ib.* 228. It is sad to relate that Bishop Quadra calmly denied that O'Nial

after his return to his native country he rebelled again : sent to the King of Spain and the Pope for assistance : burned several churches ;* and among the rest the cathedral church of Armagh, because the heretical service was performed there by Lofthouse, the new primate. The former occupant of Armagh, Dowdal, restored by Mary, died three months before the end of Mary's reign.† Adam Lofthouse, his successor, one of Elizabeth's chaplains, a young man of graceful address, who had been sent into Ireland in the capacity of chaplain to the Lord Deputy, was canonically elected by the Dean and Chapter of Armagh,‡ and consecrated

had taken the Sacrament in his house, when he was taxed with it by the Council. He answered, and informed the King that he had answered, "This is not true, although my chaplain gave his chaplain twelve consecrated wafers of the Holy Sacrament, for which he had asked him": adding, "I have denied about John O'Nial absolutely, and asserted that he never communicated in my house, in order not to injure him, but I believe they have arrested him already, and that I shall not be able to get him off, as this traitor (meaning his own secretary) has told all he knows." To the King, June 20.—*Span. Cal.* 247.

* "He left neither house nor no kind of corn on that side the river, but set it all on fire; and as well did spare never church nor sentory, and moreover he has killed above three hundred persons of poor labourers," &c. Shane Macguire to Sussex.—Wright's *Elizabeth*, i. 101; cf. p. 110.

† Vol. IV. p. 426 of this work. Allen, in his answer to an English justice, says wrongly that Dowdal was deprived by Elizabeth, along with other bishops. "In Ireland the Archbishop of Armagh, and an uncertain number of other bishops there."—Quoted in Strype's *Ann.* i. 73.

‡ The election of Lofthouse, after the Act of Parliament abolishing the *congé d'élire*, has perplexed historians, who offer several explanations. Leland thinks that the Act was already forgotten, or could not be executed strictly and generally. There is a curious letter about the case from the Queen to the Irish Council, which seems to imply that the Act was never noticed either in Ireland or England. It would appear: (1) that the Irish Council wrote to the Queen that they could not proceed to the election of Lofthouse by reason of the absence of some of the chapter of Armagh. They seem to know nothing of the Act for appointing by patent. (2) The Queen in her answer does not bid them proceed under the Act, but tells them to make provision for ordering ecclesiastical causes, by a special Commission, "in the mean season": i.e. till the archbishop could be elected. She seems to know nothing of the Act.—See T. Leland, *Hist. Irel.* ii. 227.

by Curwen, Archbishop of Dublin, who himself had been consecrated under Mary with the forms of the Pontifical, in the beginning of March, 1562.* So long was it before the days of mourning for Dowdal were accomplished : albeit in this case it may be true that the place was one " of great charge, in name and title only to be esteemed, without any worldly endowment resulting from it,"† so that it was not kept vacant for robbery. As to the rest of the Hibernian sees, there was no severity of deprivation, and no magnanimity of resignation, at the coming of Elizabeth to the throne. Archbishop Curwen remained in the archsee of Dublin, till in 1567 he was translated to Oxford. Bishop Maginnis continued at Down and Connor : Bishop Thonery, Bale's intruded successor, at Ossory : John Devereux, a former abbot, abode still in Ferns : a former Franciscan friar, Field, intruded into Cork under Mary, stayed in Cork. Archbishop Baron retained Cashel : Archbishop Bodkin Tuam : Patrick Walsh adhered to the see of Waterford : O'Brian to Killaloe : Roland De Burgh to Clonfert : Roland De Burgh to Elphin : Raymond De Burgh to Emly. In some bishoprics the records are defective or lacking : Clogher was occupied in 1557 by O'Cervallan, but how long after is not known : his successor was not appointed till 1570 : a vacancy of thirteen years is improbable. Of Kilmore, Dromore, Raphoe, and Derry the incumbents are unknown. The whole number of the bishoprics of Ireland considerably exceeded the whole number of the English bishoprics : but of the whole number of the bishops of Ireland not one resigned on account of the alteration

* Mant's *Hist. of the Church of Ireland*, i. 270. Mant observes that one of the lines of the Apostolical Succession in the Irish Church was through Goodacre of Armagh from Browne of Dublin : the other (for there are two) was through Lofthouse of Armagh from Curwen of Dublin.

† *Ib.* 269, from *Rot. Canc.* 6 & 7 Eliz.

of religion, and only two were deprived. These were Walsh of Meath, a former Cistercian, and Leverous of Kildare. Walsh refused the Oath of Supremacy, and preached against the Supremacy and the Prayer Book : Leverous refused the Oath.* There had been no persecution in the time of Queen Mary in the apathetic kingdom of Ireland, to compel the heads and dignitaries of the Church to affirm their consistency under the penalty of confessing by disgrace the religion which they had elucidated by force.

It was in the middle of this year, 1562, that Elizabeth intervened in arms in the north of France on behalf of the Huguenots. Their leader Condé scrupled not to purchase her assistance at the price of the important towns of Havre and Dieppe : which were forthwith occupied by a force of three thousand English under Sir Edward Poynings, and though Dieppe was relinquished as indefensible, Havre was retained. The Catholics, under Guise, were besieging Rouen at the time : Poynings flung a small reinforcement into the place, and when it was taken by storm, two hundred English soldiers perished in the breach. The Queen, on hearing of the loss, dispatched a second army of three thousand to Havre under Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and sent money into Germany to hire mercenaries. It was expected that Guise would have invested Havre, which was not in a condition of defence : but the rapid advance of Condé from Orleans with a view of opening communications with the English prevented him : he marched after the prince, and forced him to fight. In the desperate battle of Dreux, December 19, nearly half the combatants fell,

* I have used the Catalogue of Bishops and the examination of the "Question whether any Bishops resigned at Queen Elizabeth's Accession," which are given by Mant, *Hist. of the Church of Ireland*, vol. i. Appendix.

and most of the leaders on either side were slain or taken; Condé became the prisoner of Guise, but the wreck of his army was withdrawn under the Admiral Coligni, unmolested by his exhausted enemy. The Huguenots still kept the field in Normandy: and one of the most atrocious wars recorded in history continued to be waged.*

In this affair the Queen was guided by her great maxims, that she should prefer her own interests, that is the interests of England, to everything beside; and that it was the duty of a king to protect his subjects. Nothing could have been more to the former purpose, in her apprehension, nothing more in agreement with the popular will, than the possession of Havre, a place commanding the mouth of the Seine, whether as a substitute for Calais, or a foothold for regaining Calais. The same motive made her chary of men and money; and she has incurred the censure of some writers on this score, because she stood not forth at all hazards in supporting with armies and subsidies the reformed religion on the continent. It may be remarked, however, that she sent as many men to Condé as Philip of Spain sent to Guise: and that it was at the same moment when Philip entered the south of France through a secret treaty with Guise, that she entered the north of France through a secret treaty with Condé. When the agents of the prince, stealing over to England, brought her his proposals, soliciting succours three times greater than those that were eventually sent, she remained unmoved alike by their importunity, the anxious representations of Cecil, the alarming letters of Throckmorton, and the entreaties of Lord Robert Dudley, who agreed in declaring that the

* These events belong to general history. Froude gives a particular and very interesting account of the expedition to Havre.

ruin of Condé would be followed by her own. When the French ambassador in the name of his master protested against her conduct in making a treaty with a subject in arms against his sovereign, and required her to withdraw her forces from Havre, she pretended not to believe that the message came from Charles, because that it was the duty of a king to protect his subjects from oppression, and therefore to welcome any aid for that purpose. This maxim of government was never so neglected in Europe as in the age when it was maintained by Elizabeth. Notwithstanding her parsimony of life and treasure, she felt the drain of her resources ; and it was under the pressure of this foreign complication that she summoned her second Parliament.

CHAPTER XXXV.

A.D. 1563.

To the second Parliament of Elizabeth, to the House of Commons, not more than fifty were returned who had sat in her first: a dozen who had been in the last Parliament of Edward but not in the first of Elizabeth revisited Westminster in her second.* Such change might be a sign of heightened Evangelicism; but it was not a sign of altered policy. The principles of the reign for ecclesiastical legislation were already laid by the Parliament of the first year of it: the Parliament of the fifth, though important, could do no more than apply or enforce them.

It was opened with extraordinary splendour, January 12. The Queen rode on horseback from Whitehall, apparelled in furs, crimson velvet, and ermines, a collar studded with jewels, and on her head a rich caul. Her ladies attended in ordinary dresses. The Council, the great officers, the House of Lords went before her, among them twenty-two of the recruited episcopate; Gloucester and St. Asaph, Chester, Carlisle and Peterborough, Norwich and Exeter, Lichfield and Bath, Rochester and St. David's, Salisbury and Lincoln, Bangor and Worcester, Ely and Hereford, Llandaff, Chichester and Winchester, Durham and London: in robes of scarlet and hoods of miniver. At

* I have worked these particulars out of the Blue Book, *Members of Parliament*, Part I., which appeared in 1879.

the north door of Westminster Abbey they were met by the Dean and the Dean of the Chapel with the whole Chapel in copes. The staff of St. Edward was delivered to her Majesty, whose arm was assisted to bear it by a bold baron : the weight of her train was relieved by Lord Robert Dudley and Sir Francis Knowles, and a canopy was uplifted over her head by six strong knights. The procession advanced "to the travers beside the Table of Administration"; on which the cap and sword of state were laid. Her place was in the travers, or transepts, whereas usitately it had been in the quire : there all the Lords sat on forms, the spirituality on the north, the temporalty on the south. There was neither Communion nor offering.* The choir sang the English Litany or Procession, and a vigorous sermon, fiercely glancing towards the bishops imprisoned in the Tower, was preached by Dean Nowell of St. Paul's.† At the end of the sermon a Psalm was sung, another sign of the time, as the royal pomp passed out by the south door in march to the Parliament Chamber. There the Queen took her throne, with the cap, the sword, the cloth of estate : three or four ladies, "and no more," sitting on the ground beside her, and many lords and sons of lords kneeling behind the cloth of estate.

* This account comes from D'Ewes. It seems probable from what he says that the altar had been removed, and that "the table of administration" stood in the transepts. There was no Communion : but it must be remembered that it would have been impossible to have it for the time. It was a different matter when the Latin Mass was used, and there were no communicants but the priests.

† "On Tuesday last the Parliament was opened, and the burden of the sermons, both in St. Paul's and in the presence of the Queen at Westminster, was principally to persuade them to 'kill the caged wolves'; by which they meant the Bishops : and really it looks as if they would do something of the sort." Quadra to his servant at Brussels, Jan. 14.—*Span. Cal.* 291.

The dukes, viscounts, barons, were ranked on forms : the Archbishop of Canterbury began, and the Bishop of Gloucester ended, the Bishops' form. When all was arranged, the Commons were summoned ; and the Lord Keeper Bacon was commanded by the Queen to open the cause of assembly.

The speech of this approved orator fell not short of the occasion. Giving the first place to the consideration of religion, " for the setting forth of God's honour and glory," he lamented the want of discipline, the lack of ministers, the small congregations, and bare services. He encouraged the High Commission in their work, and suggested that it might be extended by commissioners sitting in every diocese. " God's cause," said he, " being generously weighed and followed bringeth good success in all affairs ; but neglected, how can anything prosper ? The greater the personages who abuse, the greater the fault is to the damage of the whole commonwealth. I cannot excuse either the spirituality or the laity. As the preachers are not so diligent in their vocation as they should be, so we of the laity are neither so diligent in hearing nor in doing. There is great want of ministers, and insufficiency also : but this is to be borne, considering the time, and not doubting the circumspection of the bishops in looking to the placing of such as shall be appointed hereafter. The discipline of the Church has not been good heretofore : whence have sprung two enormities : that every man lives as he will, without fear ; and that many ceremonies agreed upon, but the right ornaments thereof, are either left undone or forgotten.* For

* I have kept close to his words in this place ; where there is an allusion to the vestiary troubles, which were already felt. The "right ornaments" that were lacking in ceremonies agreed upon were not using the prescribed place, gesture, or apparel in performing them : especially the surplice.

want of discipline it is that so few come to service, and the Church is so unreplenished. The want of discipline causes obstinacy, contempt, and the growth of heresy: therefore, in my opinion, the device is good that in every diocese officers be appointed to sit, as hath been thought good, for the redress of such-like errors twice or thrice a year, till they be amended. In which well-doing the head officers are to be borne withal and maintained; and laws made for the purpose: the chief care of which matters pertaineth to you, my lords of the Spirituality. Go, Commons; go, nether House; go, choose your mouth, your aider, your instructor, your opener, and your Speaker."

The Commons withdrew, and, on the nomination of the Comptroller, elected their Speaker, the whole house with one entire voice crying out, "Mr. Williams, Mr. Williams." * On the Friday they returned to the royal presence in the Lords, and the Speaker, a gentleman of the Inner Temple, delivered an eloquent oration. "Savage beasts forget not benefactors; neither may I let pass your Majesty's benefits. Taking upon you the charge of both the States, as well Spiritual as Temporal, you have purged this Church of all ill service, and placed therein service to God's honour; you have restored again God's doctrine into this realm; for which your subjects most heartily give thanks unto God. Thoroughly to redress abuses, your Majesty must have knowledge of them; and there are three notable monsters in the realm, of which I would speak: necessity, ignorance, and error. No man is contented with his degree, though he have never so much. How now be all schools, benefices, and other like rooms furnished! Schools so few, that I dare say a hundred schools are wanting in England which before this time have

* D'Ewes, p. 79.

been. If in each of those schools there had been but a hundred scholars, that had been ten thousand : I doubt whether there be so many learned men in England as the number wants of these scholars. Want of good schoolmasters bringeth ignorance. Covetousness hath gotten the livings and preferments, as by impropriations, which is a decay of learning. The Universities are decayed ; the great market towns and others are without either school or preacher ; the poor vicar has twenty pounds, the rest is impropriate : so no preacher there, the people led in blindness and become obstinate. See to it that impropriations be redressed. Error is a serpent with many heads, many evil opinions, and much evil life : Pelagians, Libertines, Papists, who leave God's commandments to follow their own traditions. Your realm shall never be well served of such people, so divided. Weed out this wickedness and error within these our days. Walking in the streets I have heard oftentimes more oaths than words, a pitiful hearing ! Having God's word, and His name in our mouths, yet we live as infidels : having enough there is scarcity. What, shall there be no punishment for this among us being Christians and not infidels ? We desire your Highness to see to the lamentable state of this Commonwealth, that we may avoid this blasphemy."

The Speaker proceeded in an allegory, not inapt, if not highflying, which may be called the Fort. "We have thought good to move your Majesty to build a strong Fort, for the surety of this realm, to the repulsing of your enemies abroad. It must be set upon firm ground, having two gates, the one commonly open, the other as a postern, with two watchmen at either of them, and having one Governor, one Lieutenant, four soldiers, and no good thing wanting. Name it the

Fear of God: the Governor whereof to be God, the Lieutenant your Majesty, the stones the heart of faithful people, the two watchmen at the open gate Knowledge and Virtue, of the postern Mercy and Truth, all being spiritual ministers. This Fort is invincible if every man will fear God, and if you, the Lieutenant, see Justice with Prudence her sister executed. For such as depart out of this Fort, let them be let out at the postern by Mercy and Truth. First of all, and continually, vouchsafe to seek God's glory, and His true honour, and then shall you have this Fort well built, and by you well governed." *

The Oath of Supremacy was ministered to the Commons for the first time, with particular solemnity, by the Lord Steward Arundel. The Queen's marriage and the succession was the first great anxiety of the Session: on which sage counsels were advanced with eloquence in either house. The speech of the Speaker, which is extant, glanced upon the dangers of the times, the foreign enemies who had sought to transfer the crown to a stranger, meaning the Queen of Scots, the plots of subjects unnaturally confederate with foreign enemies, referring it may be to the foolish plot of the Poles, which was even then being unravelled: for two nephews of Pole conspired to proclaim Mary of Scotland, one of them to marry her, and the other to be Duke of Clarence, were detected, arraigned, condemned, and contemptuously pardoned about this time: but

* D'Ewes, p. 65. Mr. Froude first drew attention to this remarkable speech, of which he speaks glowingly. "All that was most excellent in English heart and feeling, the spirit which carried England safe at last through its trials, spoke in these words. . . . The clergy cried out for the blood of the disaffected: the lay Speaker would let them go by the postern of Mercy and Truth" (vii. 481). This is characteristic: but who would criticise it now? The death of Mr. Froude has left a gap which is felt by those of his literary generation.

was most remarkable for a sentence in which the Romanensians were called heretics, the term which it pleased them so well to apply to others.* But the fears of Cecil proved themselves true, that he "could not see that any effect would come of the earnest suits made of the three estates to the Queen's Majesty." † To the eloquence of the Commons she answered that the matter required consideration, and turned her back on them: when the Lords waited on her she angrily told them that if they saw lines in her face they were not the wrinkles of age but the marks of the small-pox, from which she had just recovered; so marriage might wait.

On the question of supply great argument arose in the Commons; a burgess declaring that the cost of the Scottish war and of the present intervention in Normandy might well have been spared. Cecil arose and delivered a fierce harangue against the King of Spain, to whom he imputed all the troubles in which the country had been involved for the last four years; that he had been ungrateful for the friendship and alliance of the country from which he had received so many services, and had left it without support for the recovery of Calais: that he invariably sided with the Queen's enemies, and had recently given so much support to the Guises, that the only thing left was for him to be called the master of France, since the Queen of Scots felt already sure of being Queen of England, and was indeed at times called so by her

* "We fear a faction of heretics in your realm, contemptuous and malicious Papists, lest they most unnaturally against their country, most madly against their own safety, and most treacherously against your Highness, not only hope for the woeful day of your death, but also lie in wait to advance some title, under which they may revive their late unspeakable cruelty," &c.—D'Ewes, 82.

† Cecil to Sir T. Smith, Feb. 18.—Strype, *Ann.* i. 294.

household.* The Commons responded with a generous aid, one subsidy and two fifteenths and tenths.

A Bill against fantastical prophecies and against enchantments made it felony to invent and publish fond predictions against the Queen or other high personages, and continued the horrible series of laws against witchcraft, which the Legislature of Henry the Eighth began.† Another Bill for assuring to the Queen the lands of the vacant bishoprics, which she had assumed under the notorious Act of her first Parliament, was read once or twice, but went no further this Session.‡ Unions of churches in the city of Winchester and other places; § St. Katherine's Hospital made into a parish church, and a school erected; a Bill touching an annuity for the finding of a school at Guildford; || sanctuary not to be used to defraud debt, were measures, proposed or carried, of the kinds not unusual in that age. More particularly marking the point at which the Reformation was arrived may be thought the Act for translating "the Bible and other Divine Service into the Welsh tongue": ¶ and the Welsh Book of Common Prayer, which appeared in due course, is to be regarded as a contemporary original. The position of the clergy may be discerned in a Bill which had but one reading, "that the Lord Chancellor might direct commissions

* Quadra to the King, Jan. 27.—*Span. Cal.* 293.

† 5 Eliz. cc. 15, 16. Comp. Vol. II. p. 281 of this work.

‡ Strype, *Ann.* i. 294.

§ "The Bill for the uniting and annexing of churches was read *prima vice*."—*Lords' Journ.*, p. 600. "The Bill for uniting of churches in cities and towns corporate" read second time.—*Ib.* 602; D'Ewes, 70. In the *Commons' Journal* it is more particularly described as "a Bill for the uniting of churches by the bishop, so that the value be not above twenty-four pounds of the churches united."—D'Ewes, 88. What became of it seems unknown: but a "new Bill for uniting of churches in boroughs or towns, being under the value of twenty marks," was read for the first time on the penultimate day of the Session.—*Ib.* 91.

|| *Ib.* 70, 89, 90.

¶ *Ib.*

to the bishop for increase of the living of ministers": of the High Commission the prudence appeared in a Bill "to avoid fraudulent gifts by any convicted of præmunire," and the activity in an "Act for the due execution of the Writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*." The ancient writ, it appeared, was not returnable into any particular court, but was left to the discretion of sheriffs, through whose negligence and default it was not for the most part executed upon offenders in crimes of ecclesiastical cognisance, who were therefore greatly encouraged in leading sinful and criminous lives. It was now made returnable into King's Bench, in a careful statute, which defined that it was not the body of the person named that was to be returned by the sheriff, but the writ, with brief declaration how he had served it, further proceedings lying with the justices: that they might award another kind of writ, repeatedly, with increasing penalties, against the person named, till he appeared before them to answer; that the bishop, or other, having authority to certify any person excommunicated, might receive the submission of the party, and signify it to the court, namely the High Court of Chancery, from which writs *De hæretico capiendo* issued: and that any such writ which contained not the cause of excommunication, "refusing to have his child baptised, or to receive the Holy Communion as it is now commonly used to be received in the Church of England, or to come to Divine Service now commonly used in the said Church of England, or error in matters of religion or doctrine now received and allowed in the said Church of England, incontinency, usury, simony, perjury in the ecclesiastical court, or idolatry," should be utterly void.* This Act was

* It was an ancient abuse of excommunication for bishops to issue letters and certificates that the party was excommunicated *propter diversas*

somewhat contested. After passing the Lords, it came back from the Commons "with a proviso annexed and divers amendments," which were immediately accepted.

But the chief ecclesiastical measure of the Session was the "Act for the assurance of the Queen's royal power over all estates and subjects within her dominions." In the Commons this was called "the Bill against those that shall extol the Bishop of Rome, or shall refuse the Oath of Allegiance": and the title describes the matter. The preamble recited the perils and dishonours which had befallen the realm in ages past "by means of the jurisdiction and power of the See of Rome unjustly claimed and usurped," and the present "marvellous outrage and licentious boldness of the fautors of the said usurped power," which was declared to require now more sharp correction than hitherto in the Queen's reign. It was therefore made præmunire to be convicted of maintaining or extolling "the authority, jurisdiction, power, or pre-eminence of the Bishop of Rome or his see" within the realm of England. If any justice of assize or peace failed to certify into King's Bench, there to be heard and determined, any presentment of such case that had been made before him, he was made liable to forfeit a hundred pounds. To maintain the Bishop of Rome a second time, after conviction, was made high treason. The other part of the statute, about refusing the Oath of Allegiance, was more complicated and severe. The Oath to be tendered was the Oath of the Queen's

contumacias, or some such phrase, without showing any cause in special of the excommunication. Attempts had been made in former ages to check this. See some remarks in the *Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission*, 165. The causes now enumerated, viz. any refusal of the altered religion and the Book of Common Prayer, may be noticed.

first year, of which we have seen so much, and it was to be interpreted according to the Queen's Admonition annexed to her Injunctions,* as attributing to her "no other authority than that was challenged and lately used by Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth." All bishops might tender the Oath to ecclesiastical persons.† Every member of the House of Commons was to take it before the High Steward, or be deemed no knight or burgess of Parliament and be punished for entering the assembly. But no temporal person above the degree of baron was under the compulsion of swearing, her Majesty being "sufficiently assured of the faith and loyalty of the temporal Lords of Parliament." As to other persons of the realm, commissions might be issued by the Lord Chancellor under the Act to commissioners to tender the Oath to such persons as should be specified therein, refusals to be certified into King's Bench. To refuse the Oath a second time was high treason : but the Oath might not be tendered a second time to anybody, but only to the clergy, to officials of ecclesiastical courts, and to "such persons as wilfully refused to observe the orders and rites for Divine Service that be authorised to be used and observed in the Church of England," after being publicly admonished by the ordinary, to such as openly depraved the rites and ceremonies of the Church of

* Above, p. 138.

† Lingard says that the obligation of taking the Oath was extended "to all persons who had ever held office in the church, or in any ecclesiastical court, during the present or the three last reigns" ; vi. 206. He is followed by Mr. Bridgett, *Cath. Hierarchy*, 29 and 85. There is no such definition of time in the Act, and it is difficult to imagine whence Lingard could have got it. The Act was not retrospective : it ordered, "that all and every archbishop, bishop, and other ecclesiastical person, and other ecclesiastical officer and minister, of what estate, dignity, pre-eminence whatsoever they be, or shall be," should take the Oath.

England, and to such as should "hear or say the private Mass prohibited by the laws of the realm."*

This famous statute, which originated with the Commons and was sent to the Lords early in the Session, February 20, was not passed without debate.† In the House of Lords a vigorous speech against it was delivered by Browne, Lord Montague: in the Commons by Mr. Atkinson, a student of the Inner Temple. "I seek not to persuade," said Montague, "that the religion now observed in England is either false or schismatical: but is it good to command Papists to confess the doctrine of Protestants to be true and evangelical, with oath, under pain of death? This law is not necessary: the Catholics of the realm disturb not the affairs of the realm; they dispute not, they preach not, they disobey not the Queen: they

* 5 Eliz. c. 1. It is interesting to observe the Latin Mass designated by such a body as the Legislature "the private Mass." It shows how deeply this character of the mediæval service had impressed itself on the age. Indeed the designation was invented by the age; and was not accepted by the Romanensians or Old Learning.

† The late Mr. Froude has pointed out that a Bill of the sort, whether this Bill in the first form, or one that was quashed, seems to have been sent to the Lords before this. Bishop Quadra wrote to King Philip on January 27 that "the heretics had proposed a penal Act against the Papists who refused to accept the new religion," and that the Lords having to vote upon it, "the Earl of Northumberland said that he thought the Act was neither just nor desirable, and that the heretics should be satisfied to enjoy the bishoprics and benefits of the others without wishing to cut off their heads: and that when they had beheaded the clergy, they would claim to do the same to the lay nobles."—Froude, vii. 484; *Span. Cal.* 294. Mr. Froude remarks characteristically that the Bill was "bloody in its provisions as the preachers desired." However there were no preachers in the House of Commons: but there was a layman there who spoke against the Bill, Mr. Atkinson (see above): and he happened to mention that "he heard the preachers say that though in the old law idolatry was punished with death, yet since the coming of Christ, who came to win the world by peace, the greatest punishment taught by the Apostle was excommunication."—Strype, i. 301. In subsequent letters to the King, Quadra describes the Act, as it was actually passed, with sufficient accuracy.—*Span. Cal.* 302.

have brought into the realm no novelties in doctrine and religion. It is enough for Protestants to keep possession of the churches, and the authority to preach and to excommunicate, not to seek to force men to do or believe that they believe not; and to make God witness of their lie. To be condemned to lie and to swear, or also to die, no man ought to suffer; and it is to be feared that rather than to die, they will seek how to defend themselves. Twenty-five bishops and the greater part of the assembly of the Lords were for making this law: these bishops have party and interest in the matter: since *ipso facto* they have dispossessed the Catholic bishops under colour to bring in better doctrine. To them it belongs only to declare the doctrine of the Papists to be false, and to excommunicate such as follow it. It belongs not to them to appoint the temporal penalties of confiscation, banishment, or death." Montague's arguments were good: but his plea for gentleness, and his protestation of the proper functions of bishops, sounded flat and strange so soon after the days of Mary. Atkinson's speech was delivered, March 10, in answer to one that is not extant. He argued with force that to maintain foreign jurisdiction was never by the laws accounted treason, to appeal to Rome was never yet treason, but only *præmunire*, and only *præmunire* after Edward the Third: that therefore, the offence not being so great, the penalty ought not to be so great either. If, he represented, every one who scrupled the Oath should refuse it and be executed thereupon, the realm would be so weakened as to be defenceless: if all who disliked it should take it, they would not be better subjects for being made cowards and hypocrites. He considered that the great Act of the first Parliament of the Queen, in which the Oath was first enforced,

was strict and ample enough in penalty.* This speech was the occasion, it is evident, of several safeguards and mitigations that were inserted in the Bill. Cecil spoke strongly in support of the Bill upon the view of foreign policy. "If," said he, "the Queen finds herself embarrassed, it is because she is defending her supreme authority, because she is refusing to admit the authority of the Pope or his Council: for this reason the King of Spain, having vainly urged her to send representatives thither, now threatens her with war. The Pope has hired the King of Spain with three millions of gold to make war on those powers who refuse to send representatives to the Council. Her Majesty will die before consenting. I exhort you to defend the royal authority with this necessary law; nay more, to serve your Queen with your lives and property, as it is your duty. You have none to trust but yourselves. The Germans, who promised great things, have broken their word and done nothing. The Emperor and his sons, and the Duke of Bavaria, are in the pay of the Pope." Vice-Chamberlain Knowles rose after Cecil, and exclaimed that the business must be settled sword in hand, not by words: and that he would be foremost in the struggle.†

The Session ended April 10, with orations from the

* Strype has given these two speeches from the Foxii MSS., *Annals*, ch. xxvi.: where see them at large. Collier gives them, or rather a version of them, in his own phraseology, vol. vi. 359. The penalties of the Act were considerably mitigated, as it stood at last, by provisos: as, that it should not be lawful to kill any one attainted upon præmunire; that charitable alms bestowed on an offender under the statute should not be interpreted into aiding and abetting: no forfeiture or disheriting should come of any attainder under it. I have not been able to trace these speeches to the Foxii MSS. As Strype gives them, their language seems not of their age.

† Quadra to Philip, Feb. 20.—*Span. Cal.* 303. Sir Francis Knowles spoke not naught. He was at Havre de Grace the next week.

Speaker and the Keeper; the Queen present. The Lord Keeper in the name of the Queen acknowledged "how wisely they had done for the abolishing of the Roman power, the common enemy of the realm; and bade them look well to the execution of the laws" without more words, lest she should have to issue commissions to enquire whether they were executed or not, as she did in her ecclesiastical laws. As to the delicate question of her marriage and succession, he read a paper which she had written by his request, dignified and touching, which may be held certainly of her own composure.*

Concurrent with the Parliament, the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury met in St. Paul's on January 13; and the deliberations of the assembly which reduced the English Confession to the final form, so far forth as they have been preserved, were marked by dignity and wisdom.† After the Litany

* "Since there can be no duer debt than princes' words, which I would observe, therefore I answer to the same; thus it is. The two Petitions which you made unto me do contain two things; my Marriage, and Succession after me. For the first, If I had let slip too much time, or if my strength had been decayed, you might the better have spoke therein; or, if any think I never meant to try that life, they be deceived; but if I may hereafter bend my mind thereunto, the rather for fulfilling your request, I shall be therewith very well content. For the second, the greatness thereof maketh me to say and pray, that I may linger here in this Vale of Misery for your Comfort, wherein I have witness of my Study and Travail, for your Surety: And I cannot with *Nunc dimittis* end my life, without I see some foundation of your Surety after my Gravestone."—D'Ewes, 76.

† A directory for the occasion, studied from antiquity, was drawn up by Parker, or at his command, under the title of "*Forma, seu Descriptio Convocationis celebrandæ, prout ab antiquo observari consuevit*": also another, entitled "*Forma eligendi et præsentandi Prolocutorem*." They are the first documents in the "*Synodalia*," C. C. C., Cambridge MSS. They were first printed by Atterbury, *Rights*, Appendix xxiii. Strype gives a full account of them (*Parker*, i. 120), and says that the actual proceedings were exactly according to them. This is borne out by the Register, Wilkins, iv. 232.

and the hymn *Veni Creator* sung in the vulgar tongue, the Provost of Eton, William Day, preached the Latin sermon, and the Holy Communion was celebrated. Then in the chapter-house the clergy were addressed by the new Most Reverend in a brief oration animated by the greatness of the occasion. "Behold," said Parker, "the opportunity come for reforming the Church of England; the mind of our most noble Queen, and of the greatest persons of the realm, prepared to receive such a reformation: choose then for your prolocutor a man of answerable gravity, learning, and experience; and discern him in Alexander Nowell." The recommendation was inusitate but effective.* Three days later they met again in the chapter-house: the Most Reverend said the Litany with high intelligible voice, with the usual collects and a special prayer for the occasion, the bishops, the clergy, and the people present responding, and after an interval the clergy, retiring, returned, and presented Nowell as their elected person: whom Gabriel Goodman Dean of Westminster, and Sampson Dean of Christ Church, led, the former in a brief Latin oration premissing the gifts and virtues of a considerable and exemplary man. The Prolocutor modestly and not inelegantly professed his manifold unfitness: the Most Reverend and the bishops conferred upon his fitness: all with one consent pronounced him truly fit: and in a graceful speech the Most Reverend approved and confirmed the election.† The Lower House, as changed as the hierarchy from that which met in the first of Elizabeth under Bonner, showed a notable zeal of reformation. The fortunate preservation of a larger

* I do not recollect another example of the Most Reverend nominating a prolocutor. There is nothing of the sort in the "Forma eligendi" above mentioned.

† Wilkins, iv. 232.

portion of their Acts than usual has enabled us to follow their proceedings to some extent;* to ascertain the names of nigh one hundred and twenty, not far short of the whole of their number; and to remark the more characteristic among them. The veteran preacher Lever sat side by side with the fervid Calhhill; the versatile Perse, the questionable Mallet, the former Dominican Dodds promoted the alteration of religion in the same ranks with the fierce Becon and the consistent William Latimer.

There were thirty-six meetings of this memorable synod,† and two main designs that occupied it, the improvement of discipline and the condition of the clergy,

* Wilkins takes his extracts "ex reg. Conv." from a book called *Synodus Anglicana*, 1702, which contained the remains of the perished Journals of Convocation from 1529 to this of 1562(3). He supplements this out of Strype, as regards this Convocation. Strype has written a long and good account, mainly from some important papers in the Petyt MSS. collection. These are, "General note of matters to be moved by the clergy in the next Parliament and Synod," Strype, *Ann.* ch. xxvii.; Sandys' paper, "First, that with her Majesty's authority," &c., *ib.* ch. xxix.; Sandys' Orders, *ib.* ch. xxx.; "Requests and Petitions of the Lower House," *ib.* ch. xxx.; "Articles to be enquired," beginning "Whether the writ," *ib.* ch. xxx. He has also used another paper, "Articles drawn out by some certain," &c., ch. xxxi.: without giving reference. This is in "Synodalia," C. C. C., Cambridge MSS.

† *The Convocation of 1563* :—

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| 11 Nov. 1562. The Queen's Writ. | 22 Jan. Articles and reformation. |
| —Strype's <i>Park.</i> i. 119. | 25 — Articles and reformation. |
| 27 — The Archbishop's mandate. | 27 — Articles and reformation. |
| — <i>ib.</i> | 29 — Articles subscribed; some |
| 12 Jan. 1563. First Meeting. | bishops chosen to devise |
| 13 — Formal opening. | heads for discipline. |
| 16 — Prolocutor presented: | 3 Feb. Bishops confer secretly: so |
| bishops to think over | for three sessions. |
| matters for next session. | 5 — Articles returned by clergy |
| 19 — Bishops confer on Articles: | partly signed: catechism |
| clergy ordered to reduce | considered. |
| sheets to chapters, and | 10 — Articles signed by more. |
| appoint an Article com- | 13 — Subsidy. Voting on rites |
| mittee. | and usages in Lower |
| 20 — Bishops consider Articles. | House. |

and the ultimate revision of the Articles of Religion: of which the former was thwarted by the laity conceiving that their impropriations might be touched; the latter was sanctioned by the laity, no worldly interest being involved. Upon the former of them the fathers entered immediately, being commanded by the Most Reverend to consider by the next meeting whatsoever they thought to be most needful of reformation in their several dioceses. Many of them had brought, indeed, ready-prepared projects of discipline which they had shaped at the invitation of the Most Reverend, who himself produced a large and comprehensive scheme. The clergy laboured the same no less, some of them exhibiting sheets of excogitations concerning reformation, which were committed to a grave and learned committee of their house to be reduced to heads or chapters.* Some of these documents remain, and enable us to perceive that there were conflicting parties in a Convocation of reformers.

Bishop Sandys of Worcester propounded certain orders to be observed by the bishops and clergy, which he desired to receive the consent and subscriptions of the synod: that every bishop should "by the subscription of his hand" promise not to lease away his unleased manors beyond his own time:

15 Feb. Subsidy.

19 — Six questions on the state of the clergy given to the Prolocutor by Parker.—
Strype's *Ann.* i. 348.

22 — Subsidy.

26 Feb. Scheme of 21 heads of discipline brought from Lower House, and returned accepted.

3 Mar. Catechism passed by clergy.

14 Ap. End of session.

* "Quidam de dicta domo exhibuerant quasdam diversas schedas de rebus reformandis per eos respective excogitatas et in scripta redactas: quæ quidem schedæ de communi consensu traditæ sunt quibusdam viris gravioribus et doctioribus de cœtu dictæ domus inferioris ad hoc electis, perspicendæ et considerandæ. Quibus sic electis assignatum est ut hujusmodi schedas in capitula redigant, &c."—Wilkins, iv. 232.

that no bishop or chapter should grant any advowson : that no bishop should ordain a minister without the consent of six learned ministers : that every bishop should see that every parson catechised every Sunday : that no bishop or chapter should bestow their benefices but upon learned and fit men, who would subscribe to sound religion now by authority set down : that after two admonitions the bishop should excommunicate a common swearer. Sandys got no subscriptions. Bishop Alley of Exeter came with a paper for doctrine and discipline in several points : that one kind of doctrine should be preached by all, and not to inveigh against one another, under special penalties : that some certainty should be set by the bishops on the doctrine of the Descent into Hell, because that one set of preachers held with Erasmus, Calvin, and Bullinger ; the other with all the Greek and Latin fathers and the universal consent of antiquity : that since many preachers were inveighing against things indifferent, such as surplices, rochets, tippets, and caps, and here about round caps, square caps, or bottomed caps, some way should be taken, " that either they may go as we go in apparel, or else that we may go as they do " : that if hereafter, as heretofore, public punishment for incontinency should be commuted to money payment by letters of correction by the bishop, this should be done openly before the congregation : that excommunicates should be speedily pursued in law, and not allowed to take to their heels and run away, leaving the ordinary to scorn ; and that the writs *De Excommunicato capiendo* should be served by sheriffs without delay or favour : * that order be taken against walking and talking in churches,

* This is one evidence that the clergy had to do with the enforcing of the writ *De Excommunicato capiendo*, which was ordered by the present Parliament. There is further evidence below.

simony, and witches ; the last to be sharp and capital. Alley got no subscriptions if he sought for any, but his work was not thrown away. Bishop Grindal of London drew up, or at least annotated, a paper suggesting that a book of articles of doctrine should be drawn out of Jewel's *Apology* by the Queen's authority, and that the ordinaries should punish any who said contrary : that ministers should wear one grave form of apparel, or be discharged of their livings after three monitions : that the penalties against defaulting parishioners as to frequenting their churches should not be defeated by a replevy : that the ordinary jurisdiction, standing now on the Queen's ecclesiastical laws, not on any foreign authority, should not be hindered by prohibitions too readily sued out of the Queen's courts, particularly in the present horrible license of adultery, fornication, and incest : that the exility of vicarages should be augmented by impropiators, so that the people might not be without the common prayer and sacraments, as many towns were : and that bishops with the aid of a justice or two might devise by some taxation of parishioners for the support of a minister to serve destitute towns.* Grindal attained not his desires. The Most Reverend annotated, though he composed not, a more extensive series of proposals, some of which fell in with the course of the Convocation : but many found no place. Of these were, that Jewel's *Apology* should be printed with the Articles of Religion, and taught in the universities and grammar schools, and not depraved under the same heavy penalties as lay against depraving the Book of Common Prayer : that vestments, caps, and surplices

* This is the paper entitled "Articles drawn out by some certain, and were exhibited to be admitted by authority, but not so allowed."—C. C. C., Cambridge MSS. (Synodalia) cxxi. 27.

should be taken away: that godparents should not answer to the questions now demanded of them in the book, but recite the Apostles' Creed instead: that minor canons and vicars of cathedral churches should be enjoined to study some part of the Scriptures on pain of deprivation. Among these Articles, which run to the number of thirty-four, may be noted once more the feebly unquiet phantom of legislation which has so long haunted the Reformation and this history: "that according to a statute of 25 Henry the Eighth, thirty-two persons may be appointed to collect and gather ecclesiastical laws, and to view those that were gathered by commissioners appointed in King Edward's time."

The extremer Evangelics had not the prevailing voice in the Lower House. They set forth their "Requests and Petitions" to the number of twenty-one: containing that to the Confession in Holy Communion it might be added that the communicants detested and abhorred the idolatrous Mass; and that all images and roods should be utterly destroyed.* But only sixty-four persons signed this. They put forward another set of seven requests: that the Psalms be sung distinctly by the whole congregation, without curious playing of the organs: to omit the cross in baptism, and in no wise allow any to baptise but ministers: to make kneeling in the Communion indifferent: to abolish copes and surplices, and use only a preaching gown, "a grave, comely, and side-garment," in the ministry: not to wear "such gowns and caps as the enemies of Christ's gospel have chosen to be the special array of their priesthood": to abrogate all saints' days "bearing the name of a creature." Only thirty-three signed this, mostly returned exiles.†

* Strype, *Annals*, ch. xxx. vol. i. 340.

† *Ib.* ch. xxix. p. 335.

The same party made a more determined attempt to carry the house with a set of six Articles, more moderate in expression, but almost identical with the others: to abrogate saints' days, omit the cross in baptism, abolish organs, leave kneeling in Communion to the discretion of the ordinary, use the surplice only, and cause the minister to turn his face to the people. Upon these they raised a great contest throughout one morning, went to the suffrage in the afternoon, and lost by one. The narrowness of this escape of the Church of England from having her remaining ceremonies and usages stripped from her, so far as it could be done by the voice of the lower clergy house, was caused by the absence of twenty-four, who kept away from the division, neither sent proxies.* Among the bishops the leader of the party was the vigorous Sandys. He put forth three propositions: of which two were consentaneous with his friends below as to baptism only by ministers and the cross in baptism, the other was the phantom of ecclesiastical legislation by thirty-two. Nothing came of them.†

Many of these various petitions and suggestions were meant to have reached the Court or the Parliament. Some of them appear to have issued thither, though without any effect, particularly with regard to discipline. Vice cared not for restraint: it was feared to give the clergy power: church robbers held

* The numbers were fifty-nine to fifty-eight. It is curious that there were eight more present on the losing side than on the winning, and that the proxies turned the scale. It was 43 who lost and 35 who won. But of those 43 only 15 were proxies, or counted more than once: of those 35 there were 24 who counted more than once: hence it appears that it was the greater persons who were averse to the proposed changes. Nowell the Prolocutor voted for them. Of the large number who stayed away there was only one clergy proctor, the rest were nearly all deans and archdeacons. Compare Strype, *Ann.* i. 336, 338.

† *Ib.* 335.

together. Thus a body of salutary recommendations, drawn up by some of the prelates it is likely, and entrusted to the Most Reverend, were superscribed by his hand, "Articles drawn out by some certain, and were exhibited to be admitted by authority, but not so allowed." * The draft of an Act of Parliament for the relief of poor ministers, that in every parish the incumbent might have twenty pounds a year, with an attractive scheme of a commission to provide this by cessing where it might be most convenient, and a beautiful preamble beginning, "Forasmuch as before all things the kingdom of God is to be sought," was propounded in the clergy house, and came to nothing.† Enquiry was made of the clergy by the bishops as to benefices, whether some were not made to pay rates on too high value, what dilapidations "and other spoliations" they could remember to have passed upon their livings; how they had been used in levying arrears of tenths and subsidies, and for how many years past; how many benefices they found charged with the pensions of religious persons, newly imposed. The condition of the clergy might be deplorable: to come into livings not only poor in themselves, but burdened with burdens left undischarged by the former occupants, and some of them with the pensions of the surviving religious, which the patrons, who themselves ought to have paid them, were now turning on to the clergy.‡ But to refuse the straw and expect the bricks is old tyranny. Rather than amend these evils the danger was of a new survey, to advance the value of first-fruits and tenths payable to the Crown. Another draft of an Act, which was sent by the Bishop of London

* Above, p. 387.

† Strype gives this, ch. xxx. (p. 344), without reference.

‡ *Ibid.*

to the Most Reverend to be recommended to Parliament, was "for resorting to the church," by which it was purposed to forbid that fairs and markets should be openly held on the Sabbath day: that victuallers or craftsmen should have their shops open before the end of divine service in their parish churches: and to order, among other things, that when a lawful preacher came to a town, the curates of parishes should be notified, that they might appoint the time of Common Prayer to be ended that all who would might go to hear the preacher: and yet that parishioners were not to make excuses for not coming to their parish church by any such resorting to the preacher. This became not any Act of Parliament: but, on the other hand, some of the provisions in it are found in the great Act of the Session already considered.* Another draft was "*De Excommunicato capiendo*"; and this was more fortunate, since it proves that the first suggestion and form of the formidable measure of the temporal estates in that behalf proceeded from the Upper House of Convocation. It had a long and lamentable preamble, which the laymen exhilarated in their Act.†

The other main purpose of the synod, to revise the Confession of the English Church, was carried to an

* Strype, *Annals*, i. 355.

† "Forasmuch as in these our days divers subjects of this realm, and others the Queen's majesty's dominions, are grown into such license and contempt of the laws ecclesiastical and censures of the Church, that unless it were for fear of the temporal sword and power they would altogether despise and neglect the same," &c.—*Ib.* i. 308. A different sound is heard in the preamble of the Act. "Forasmuch as divers persons offending in many great crimes and offences appertaining merely to the jurisdiction and determination of the ecclesiastical courts and judges of this realm are many times unpunished for lack and want of the good and due execution of the Writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*," &c.—5 Eliz. c. 23.

end; and, in the final form, left to the last touches of a future day. The Forty-two Articles of Edward were filed, recast, reduced to Thirty-nine, indeed to Thirty-eight: the amended formulary received the signatures of the greater part, but not of the whole of the clergy, nor on one day or at one invitation, but more than one: for traces of warm disputation, the proper animation of a council, are discernible in their records, and of the intervention of the fathers.* And neither were the fathers altogether unanimous, nor all subscribed.† The Articles were sent to the Convocation of York, it is probable: for they were signed by “the archbishops and bishops of both provinces of the realm in provincial synod lawfully congregate”:‡ and there is, perhaps, a grain of evidence that they were not only signed by the bishops, but submitted to the

* “The eleventh session the Articles being subscribed by some of the lower house were brought up by the prolocutor; praying the most reverend and the reverend fathers, to take order that all that had not yet subscribed might do it publicly, either in the assembly of the lower house, or before them in the upper. Whereupon the said fathers decreed that the names of those of the house that had not subscribed should be written, and brought to them the next session. By which time some others had subscribed, though others had not yet.”—*Strype*, i. 329 (ch. xxviii.).

† Kitchen of Llandaff took no part in the proceedings, “apparently from want of sympathy.”—*Hardwick*, ch. vi. Cheyney of Gloucester, though occasionally present, never consented with some of the decisions of the synod, and his name is not in any of the lists. Guest of Rochester, according to one of the two original lists, signed the Articles, but not according to the other.—*Ib.* *Strype* however says that Cheyney and Guest both subscribed, as he found from some extracts from the Registers of Convocation “*penes Atterbury, decan. Carliol.*” (p. 487).

‡ “*Nos archiepiscopi et episcopi utriusque Provinciæ regni Angliæ in sacra synodo provinciali legitime congregati, recipimus et profitemur,*” &c. This declaration precedes the subscriptions in one of the manuscript originals, the Parker MS.; see *Strype*, i. 487. In the other, the one taken from the Register itself before it perished, there is an equivalent declaration of universality prefixed to the Articles. “*Articuli de quibus convenit inter archiepiscopos et episcopos utriusque Provinciæ, et clerum universum in Synodo Londinensi,*” &c.—*Wilkins*, iv. 233.

clergy, of the north.* It is disputable, it has been keenly disputed, what manuscript is to be regarded as the original of the Thirty-nine Articles: whether it be either of the two English, or either of the two Latin manuscripts that are extant: and if it be one of the Latin, as seems likely, then whether it be the manuscript which Parker used in the Convocation, which he probably sent to York, and which he finally deposited in Cambridge; or another, differing somewhat therefrom, which was extracted in the following century under pressure of a curious necessity from the actual Register of Convocation, before it was burned, by an archbishop who was beheaded.† The Latin of the Articles was immediately printed by Wolfe: the English was not published exactly as we have it now until eight years later; but an English issue was produced by Jugge and Cawood soon after the synod.‡ This consists, like our present English, almost wholly of the previous English of the Forty-two.

In the course of this work I have carefully compared the Thirty-nine Articles with the Forty-five and the

* Is it possible that the following entry in the York Convocation Register refers to this: "Concluserunt Reverendissimum Dom. Archiepiscopum consulendum fore super quibusdam Articulis in quadam schedula apud registrum remanente conscriptis"?—Wilkins, 243. This was on February 5. In the Canterbury Convocation all the *bishops* subscribed by January 29. One of the originals, the Parker MS., contains the autographic signatures of three of the four northern bishops: York, Durham, and Chester. On them the claim to universality is based at least.

† As to Laud's extract from the Register of Convocation, see below.

‡ The second edition of this, of the same year 1563, still survives in a copy or two. It is in very small octavo. It seems likely that the first may have been of the same size. In the various attempts made by Elizabeth's next Parliament, in 1566, to sanction the Articles by the weight of their own authority, this was probably "the little book" of which they spoke. Hardwick distinguishes it in his reference as "L.B.": and has carefully noted the minute particulars in which it varies from the present accepted English of the Thirty-nine Articles. See his Appendix iii.

Forty-two Articles of Edward : * and again with the unedited Declaration of Doctrine of the second year of Elizabeth, which has been seen to form a link between them and their Edwardian precedents ; between the several editions, that is, of the oft-revised Confession of the Church of England. † Going still further back, the reader is reminded that he has seen the Thirty-nine, and with them the Forty-two, laid side by side with the draft of the reign of Henry the Eighth, and Thirteen Articles ; which gave them their complexion, and from which three of them were wholly, and three of them partly, derived. ‡ This constant reproduction and redaction of a single formulary of doctrines, very characteristic of the English Church and nation, stands in contrast with the multiplied and sporadic Confessions of the Continent, albeit granted that the Protestants were faithful on the whole to the masterpiece of Augsburg. In these examinations it has been seen that the Protestant or Lutheran influence upon the English Declaration of Faith, which was strong in the days of Henry, was waning in the days of Edward. It remains, in still considering the formation of the Thirty-nine Articles, to point out a remarkable revival of the Lutheran influence. A Saxon Confession, of ten years of age, bearing the name of Wirtemberg, itself a compendium of the Augustan prototype, became the source of the several amplifications or elucidations which have given to the English work the perfection of form which it may not unjustly claim. To this is owing the completeness of the majestic declaration of the nature of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity : to this the entire Article of the

* Vol. III. pp. 480, 519 *seq.* of this work.

† Above, p. 349 of this volume.

‡ Vol. II. Note, p. 6, of this work.

Third, the Holy Ghost: the explicative halves of the Articles of Freewill and of Justification are drawn from this: the new Article, of Good Works, was composed upon it: and the conception of the first clause, greatly disputed, of the Article of the Authority of the Church, was formed within it.*

Regarded whether as a symbol or a code, the English Articles, which had passed thus successively through the hands of Cranmer and of Parker, can scarcely fail to move admiration, in comparison with the similar performances of the age. The Protestant and Re-

* Laurence in his Bampton Lectures, p. 41 and notes, was the first to point out that the Wirtemberg Confession, 1552, was the source of the finishing touches above rehearsed. Hardwick follows him, with due acknowledgment. 2nd Art.: "Ab æterno a Patre genitus, verus et æternus Deus, ac Patri consubstantialis." *Wirtemberg*: Credimus . . . ab æterno a Patre suo genitum, verum et æternum Deum, Patri suo consubstantialem." 5th Art.: "Spiritus Sanctus, a Patre et Filio procedens, eiusdem est cum Patre et Filio essentiæ, majestatis, et gloriæ, verus ac æternus Deus." *Wirtemberg*: "Credimus et confitemur Spiritum Sanctum ab æterno procedere a Deo Patre et Filio, et esse ejusdem cum Patre et Filio essentiæ, majestatis, et gloriæ, verum ac æternum Deum." 10th Art.: "Ea est hominis post lapsum Adæ conditio, ut sese naturalibus suis viribus et bonis operibus ad fidem et invocationem Dei convertere ac præparare non possit." *Wirtemberg*: "Nonnulli affirmant homini post lapsum tantam animi integritatem relictam, ut possit sese naturalibus suis viribus et bonis operibus ad fidem et invocationem Dei convertere ac præparare." 11th Art.: "Tantum propter meritum Domini ac Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi, per fidem, non propter opera et merita nostra, justi coram Deo reputamur." *Wirtemberg*: "Homo fit Deo acceptus, et reputatur coram eo justus, propter solum Filium Dei Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, per fidem." 12th Art.: "Bona opera, quæ sunt fructus fidei et justificatos sequuntur, quanquam peccata nostra expiare et divini judicii severitatem ferre non possunt, Deo tamen grata sunt et accepta in Christo." *Wirtemberg*: "Non est sentiendum quod iis bonis operibus quæ per nos faciamus, in judicio Dei, ubi agitur de expiatione peccatorum, et placatione divinæ iræ, ac merito æternæ salutis, confidendum sit. Omnia enim bona opera quæ nos facimus, sunt imperfecta, nec possunt severitatem divini judicii ferre." 20th Art.: "Habet Ecclesia ritus statuendi jus, et in fidei controversiis autoritatem." *Wirtemberg*: "Credimus . . . quod hæc Ecclesia habeat jus judicandi de omnibus doctrinis, . . . quod hæc Ecclesia habet jus interpretandæ Scripturæ."

formed Confessions are controversial, diffuse, and long-some. They offer proofs of their positions, they vindicate them by arguments; they are heated with passion, pleading, taking colour from the occasion. The militant edicts of Trent, with their preambles of denunciation, their proclamation of the names and titles of Popes and legates, their repeated declarations of purpose and design, their studied claims of divine inspiration, their systematic anathemas, their constant note of menace, are as apologetic as those of the opposite camps. But the English Articles stand on a higher level. They dogmatise without arguing: they affirm without offering proof: they deal neither in expostulation nor rebuke. They are not apologetic. Completeness of form is their character. If they received any additions, it was to make them more complete: the excisions which they suffered were to improve their form. They were narrowed into breadth, and widened by compression. And yet the same elements of passion lay around them in the process of composition, which produced the endless arguings and chidings of the others. Their authors came from fields of fierce combat into the synod. But they were made to forget animosity, and disarmed of holy wrath in the breath of public freedom, which was found, if anywhere at all throughout the Reformation, in the assemblies of the clergy. Bishop Alley of Exeter, for example, himself a controversial writer, made a strong representation of the contentions among preachers in his diocese upon the Descent into Hell, desiring the synod to "get some certainty concerning this doctrine." The effect of this was not to lengthen the Third Article, but to shorten it by half.* It was proposed by the Most

* Strype, *Ann.* i. 348. The 42 Articles had, in Art. 3, a proof offered from the well-known passage in St. Peter. This was taken out in the 39.

Reverend himself to append Jewel's *Apology* to the Articles: or else to draw a set of Articles out of Jewel's *Apology*, and add them to the Articles, and enforce them on the clergy. This, which would have lowered the Confession to the Continental level, was not done.* It was not, however, possible or desirable that antagonism should not be found in such an instrument as the Articles. It is found, but usually it is made as abstract as it can be. There is but one instance in which an English Article expresses an anathema after the fashion of Trent: neither in that is it with a dredging "*Siquis*" phrase.† Even if the "fond things vainly invented," and the "blasphemous figments and dangerous

* In the *General Notes of matters to be moved*, which was annotated by Parker himself, it was proposed that the Articles and Jewel's *Apology* "should be joined in one book and by common consent be authorised as containing true doctrine, and enjoined to be taught to the youth in the universities and grammar schools throughout the realm."—Strype, i. 317. Another paper, written by his secretary and annotated by him and Grindal, *Certain Articles in substance desired to be granted by the Queen's Majesty*, "proposed to put out one book containing articles of doctrine, and to be drawn out of the substance of the book of the *Apology*," and that any who held contrary should "be punished by the ordinaries by the Queen's ecclesiastical laws."—*Ib.* 350.

† "Sunt illi anathematizandi qui dicere audent unumquemque in lege aut secta quam profitetur esse servandum."—Art. 18. The expositors have sought the meaning of this Article in the law of Moses, the early Fathers, the pagan philosophers, and the *Koran* of Mahomet. I think it was directed against monks and nuns: and that the *law* was the rule which any of these professed, and the *sect* was the order to which any of them belonged. Dr. Maclear gets near this simple explanation when he quotes the *Reform. Leg. Eccl.* against the audacity of those who held that salvation lay in "omni religione vel secta quam homines professi fuerunt." This in fact settles the meaning. The "*religio vel secta*" was the order which any regular professed, and for professing was called "*religiosus*." But we need go no further than the Homilies to prove this. "Sects and feigned religions," says the Homily of Good Works, "were neither the fortieth part so many among the Jews, nor more superstitiously and ungodly abused, than of late days they have been among us: which sects and religions had so many hypocritical and feigned works in their state of religion, as they arrogantly named it, that their lamps, as they said, ran always over," &c.—Part 3.

deceits," spoken of Purgatory and of sacrifices of Masses, or Masses propitiatory, be very strongly antagonistic, it is antagonism narrowed to points, not enlarging itself in circles. Against them are to be set several omissions, made to soften the too great fierceness that was found in the Forty-two.*

Upon the great contested doctrines there were marks of very strong and fearless handling. The whole of the teaching of the Forty-two upon Grace and Justification was altered. Of Justification, in an expanded Article, the substantive cause was declared, and distinguished from the operative cause, with denial of other substantive cause; in place of the meagre solidianism of the Forty-two.† Of the Forty-two the Article "Of Grace," which was in denial of irresponsibility, was omitted: whilst a new and admirable Article on Good Works was composed and inserted. On Predestination the caution and reserve of the Article retained was augmented by several touches.‡ The Baptism of Infants was not merely said "to be commended" and retained: but to be retained "as most

* For instance, Article 24 simply demurs "to have public prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people." This is in the Forty-two Articles, "that in the congregation nothing be openly read or spoken in a tongue unknown to the people, the which thing St. Paul did forbid except some were present that should declare the same." Where note, besides the more restricted language, the characteristic omission of a proof offered. Again, in Art. 25, where the Sacraments are said to benefit only the worthily receiving, a protest against the theological phrase *ex opere operato*, which was in the Forty-two, was cut out "idque non ex opere (ut quidam loquuntur) operato: quæ vox ut peregrina est et sacris litteris ignota, sic parit sensum minime pium sed admodum superstitiosum."—Art. 26.

† "Tantum propter meritum Domini ac Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi, per fidem, non propter merita nostra."—Art. 11. Notice the prepositions here.

‡ "Eos quos elegit ex hominum genere" is modified into "quos elegit in Christo ex hominum genere." The words "licet predestinationis decreta sunt nobis ignota" at end are avoided.—Art. 17.

agreeable with the institution of Christ": at the same time one or two expressions against Anabaptists were eliminated, to keep the Article above the controversial level.* The Sacrament of the Eucharist, which in the Forty-two occupied two Articles, was treated in four in the Thirty-nine, two new ones being inserted between the two former ones, which were repeated with great emendation. Historical reflection here offers several points for consideration.

In the hands of the schoolman, passing, as it might perhaps be said, under academic treatment, the great subject of the Sacrament had long come to be distinguished into two parts, the Sacrament of the Eucharist and the Sacrifice of the Mass: as it regarded on the one hand the sanctification of man, and on the other the worship of God.† This division, general in mediæval theology, was followed by Trent with such deliberate assurance, that between the decrees of the Council, upon the one part and upon the other, there intervened eight sessions, or ten years.‡ It was in reference to this theological distinction, as I think, that the English Confession upon the great subject

* "Ut fabulantur Pelagiani, et hodie Anabaptistæ repetunt." Art. 9 omits half this. There is another Article in the Forty-two about those who "Spiritum perpetuo jactant," "boast themselves continually of the Spirit," which was wholly omitted in the Thirty-nine.

† "Hactenus de Eucharistia quatenus est Sacramentum, seu ut ordinatur ad hominis Sanctificationem, egimus: nunc de ea quatenus est Sacrificium, sive quatenus ad Cultum Dei refertur, agendum est," are the words with which Peter Dens, e.g., passes from his tract on the former to his tract on the latter.—*Theol.* v. 353. Dens reflects the theology of St. Thomas and Pope Eugenius IV.—the mediæval theology. Transubstantiation was usually treated under the first part. The same division was, as of course, maintained by Roman Catholic writers after Trent: for instance two of the greatest works of Bellarmine are *De Sacramento Eucharistiæ* and *De Missa*. The same consideration explains the arrangement of Cranmer's book on the Sacrament.

‡ Session 13, in 1551, was *De Eucharistiæ Sacramento*: Session 21, in the autumn of 1562, was *De Sacrificio Missæ*.

was cast into two Articles, the one *De Cœna Domini*, the other *De unica Christi Oblatione in Cruce perfecta*. These were the two that were contained both in the Forty-two Articles and in the Thirty-nine. The two new Articles, which were interjected between them in the latter of these formularies, were of the nature of corollaries drawn from the former of them: they are therefore in place: and the four may be properly considered in the order in which they stand.

1. In the first of these four, "Of the Lord's Supper," a long paragraph was withdrawn, which was in it in the Forty-two, denying that the Real and Corporal Presence was to be believed or professed by the faithful: the position against Transubstantiation was strengthened by the important declaration, "It overthroweth the nature of a sacrament":* and the stress of definition was turned in a new paragraph, of which Bishop Guest was the author, from the mystery of the Presence itself, and from modality, to the manner and means of the reception. Upon this part of the subject there remain the signs of great contention in the synod.† In this article there is a tendency shown

* This clause was suggested by the "Declaration of doctrine" of 1559: see above. Indeed the whole treatment of the Sacrament was strongly influenced by the Declaration. The same expression, as Mr. E. T. Green observes in his valuable work on the Thirty-nine Articles, is used by Calvin: "Evertitur ergo natura sacramenti."—*Inst.* iv. 17. 14.

† Three years later the Evangelics were still lamenting the excision, in this Article 28, of the paragraph which, in the Forty-two, it contained: that "a faithful man ought not either to believe or openly confess the Real and Bodily Presence, as they term it, of Christ's Flesh and Blood in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper." Humphrey and Sampson wrote a list of *Maculæ* adhering still to the Church of England: the last of which was that "the Article composed in the time of Edward the Sixth respecting the spiritual eating, which expressly oppugned and took away the Real Presence in the Eucharist, and contained a most clear exposition of the truth, is now set forth among us mutilated and imperfect." To Bullinger, July 1566.—*Zur. Lett.* i. 165. As to the added paragraph at the end of the Article, concerning the reception by faith only, Mr. E. T.

to avoid the word Eucharist; which occurs twice in the Latin, not at all in the English.

2. The next of these Articles, the twenty-ninth of the Thirty-nine, "De Manducatione," affirming that the wicked in eating the Sacrament of the Body of Christ partake not of Christ, struggled into its place with difficulty, and has been anxiously debated in following times. Literary investigation detects its absence from one of the original Latin manuscripts and from all the early printed copies of the Thirty-nine Articles: and though present in the English original manuscripts, yet in one of them it is labelled with a note of caution or deprecation.* Eight years later, at the time of the

Green has printed (App. v.) a letter from Guest to Cecil, Dec. 22, 1566, in which Guest relates that Cheyney of Gloucester "found himself grieved" at the adverb *only* "because it did take away the Presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament": asking Guest to uphold him therein; and in his absence vouching him as of his opinion. "Whereas I told him plainly that this word *only* in the aforesaid Article did not exclude the Presence of Christ's Body from the Sacrament, but only the grossness and sensibleness of the receiving thereof." He adds that he told Cheyney that he would speak against him on the subject, "and the rather because the Article was of mine own penning." All this sprang out of some altercation at the time: but it seems to refer to former variances.

* The original MSS. of the Thirty-nine Articles are—(1) The Parker Latin, in the volume "Synodalia," No. 26, in C. C. C., Cambridge. This is the MS. marked with red lead, and annotated by Parker as Strype describes. * It contains the autograph signatures of the bishops of both provinces, and may reasonably be supposed to have been the copy sent to York for subscription. It might therefore be taken for the original that would be transcribed into the perished Acts of Convocation. But there are reasons for thinking that it was not: the original in the Acts had no northern signatures: and this was Parker's own property, not the property of the body that passed the Articles. See Hardwick, ch. vi. (2) Another Latin MS. in the Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.* xxvii. 41 A (accidentally mixed in the Calendar, p. 218). This is in a fine clerkly Italian hand. It has no signatures. It contains not Art. 29. (3) Two English MSS. in the same volume, xxvii. in the Record Office, Nos. 40 and 41. The former is on vellum, the latter on paper: both without signatures: the former has a marginal note on Art. 29—'*This is the*

final revision, in 1571, the powerful theologian Guest sought to prevent the ratification of it on the ground that "it would cause much business." * The danger of perverting this Article to denial of the Presence was perhaps greater than the readiness of the reflection that the very existence of such an Article implied belief of the Presence.† The third of these Sacramental

original but not passed. If it was not passed, this may account for the fact that it is not found in any of the early printed editions of the Articles : indeed never published at all till 1571. The marginal note seems to be in the same hand as the rest of the MS. No. 40.

* See Gibson on the Articles. As he points out, this opposition on Guest's part may have led to the interview between Cecil and Parker, in which the former questioned the authenticity of the quotation from St. Augustine in the Article. Parker, who had made up the Article out of St. Augustine, "remained advisedly still in his opinion," as he wrote to Cecil on the same day, June 4, 1571.—*Corresp.*, p. 381.

† The expressions used in the 29th Article, as to their exact force, are closely examined by Dr. Maclear, by Dr. Gibson, and by Mr. E. T. Green. They adopt, in their explanations, the theological distinction of the word Sacrament into the *signum* and the *signum* with the *res significata*, and again the *virtus Sacramenti*. This division seems founded on Augustine's "*Aliud est Sacramentum, aliud Virtus Sacramenti*" (*In Joan.* xxvi. 11), which Dr. Maclear gives. I confess that I have not been able to trace it very clearly as a well-known theological division. Aquinas divides thus: "In hoc Sacramento tria considerare possumus, scilicet, id quod est sacramentum tantum, quod est panis et vinum : et id quod est res et sacramentum, scilicet Corpus Christi verum : et quod est res tantum, scilicet effectus huius Sacramenti."—*Summa*, Tert. Pars, Quest. 73, Art. 6.

As to the contest about this Article, it may have seemed needless to make so prominent a position so likely to be misunderstood. Trent had said : "Quosdam docuerunt [Patres] sacramentaliter duntaxat id sumere, ut peccatores : alios tantum spiritualiter, illos nimirum, qui voto propositum illum celestem panem edentes, fide viva, quæ per dilectionem operatur, fructum eius et utilitatem sentiunt ; tertios porro sacramentaliter et spiritualiter."—*Sess.* 13, c. 8. Cranmer had said (as Dr. Gibson, p. 674, points out) : "The diversity is not in the Body but in the eating thereof : no man eating it actually, but the good eating it both sacramentally and spiritually, and the evil only sacramentally, that is figuratively."—*On the Lord's Supper*, 224. Ridley had said : "Evil men do eat the very true and natural Body of Christ sacramentally, and no further : but good men do eat the very true Body, both sacramentally and spiritually, by grace."—*Works*, 246 (mentioned by Dr. Gibson, as above). So had Aquinas

3. Articles, which was added by Parker, fixed the usage of the Church in the reception of the Holy Communion under the two kinds. The last of them repeated more
4. strongly the declaration of the Forty-two concerning the one Oblation of Christ upon the Cross. This important Article appears designed to deny the scholastic distinction between the Sacrament of the Eucharist and the Sacrifice of the Mass: it proceeds in the latter part to condemn the false teaching and corrupt practices which attended upon this distinction, denouncing them as blasphemous figments and pernicious impostures.*

said, "Cum Corpus Christi in sacramento semper permanet, donec species sacramentales corrumpantur, etiam injustos homines Christi Corpus manducare consequitur."—*Summa*, iii. 80, 3. Why be more explicit, and seem to join the Sacramentarians, of whom Bellarmine wrote that there were two differences between him and them: "Illi negant Christum in Eucharistia adorandum, aut sumi posse ab illis qui non credunt: nos utrumque concedimus"?—*De Eucharist.* lib. i. c. 2, *Op.* iii. 459, ed. 1601.

* Some of the modern expositors hold that this Article was not intended to deny the Sacrificium Missæ, but only the false doctrine connected with it: and that this is demonstrated by the use of the plural, "Missarum Sacrificia," in the latter part. I think that the Article was more decided than that. Dr. Maclear says, "It affirms that the Eucharistic Sacrifice neither acquires nor possesses anything propitiatory *in itself* independently of that One Sacrifice: that it can only *apply* what was once for all merited by that Sacrifice."—*Art.* 368. But no such affirmations are made in the Article. It affirms and denies nothing of any sacrifice: the word is avoided, because the intention was to drop silently the whole of the mediæval theory of the sacrifice of Mass. Another word, Oblation, is taken for the one only Sin Offering: and this is defined by every other word except sacrifice. It is termed redemptio, propitiatio, satisfactio, and expiatio. At this very time Trent was affirming the mediæval distinction in all its fullness: "that the sacrifice of the Mass is propitiatory both for the living and the dead." The English Article was silently controversial. It speaks only of one offering for sin, and knows of no other: the first part of it is not from its language necessarily a sacramental Article at all. At the same time it is observable that the terms in which the One Oblation is described are sacrificial: and if it had been meant to deny the Eucharist to be a sacramental sacrifice, this would have been said. Burnet's exposition seems discriminating and wise. "We do not deny but that the Eucharist may well be called a sacrifice: but still it is

The general effect of this coalition of Articles was to preserve the great mystery: to imply without defining the Presence: to heighten the Catholic tone of the Confession of England. The great abuses of doctrine and practice were disallowed: the recent memory of the terrible agitation of the question of the nature of the Presence added sternness to their dismissal: the word Presence itself, and the famous terms Real, Corporal, Essential, Substantial, so familiar to theology and polemic, were altogether avoided: and, as I believe, appeared thenceforth no more in any public formulary of the Church of England.* The interval

a commemorative sacrifice, and not propitiatory: that is, we do not distinguish the sacrifice from the sacrament: as if the priest's consecrating and consuming the elements were in an especial manner a sacrifice any other way than as the communicating of others with him is one: nor do we think that the consecrating and consuming the elements is an act that does reconcile God to the quick and dead."—On *Art.* 31. It may be added that the doctrine that the sacrifice of the Cross availed for original sin, and the sacrifice of the Mass for daily sin, was not popular even, but was part of the mediæval theory. It is found, e. g., in Albertus Magnus (quoted by Dr. Maclear): "Ut, sicut Corpus Domini semel oblatum est in cruce pro debito originali, sic offeratur jugiter pro nostris quotidianis delictis in altari."—*Op.* xii. 250, ed. 1651. I cannot agree that the "Missarum Sacrificia" of the last part of the Article were condemned as things different from the Missæ Sacrificium. These Sacrifices, private Masses, of which every church was full, were repetitions of the Sacrificium: which Sacrificium was implicitly rejected by the Article.

* In the Second Book of Homilies, presently to be noticed, which was passed in this Convocation, there is a Homily "On the worthy Receiving of the Sacrament," and in the discourse so significantly entitled there is no mention of the Presence beyond this, "that in the Supper of the Lord there is no vain ceremony, no bare sign, no untrue figure of a thing absent." It was not meant to deny the Presence, but not to debate it. The word Substance occurs thus: that "we seek for a ghostly substance and not carnal." The positions denied, as we have seen, in the Articles are thus enumerated: "We must take heed lest of a memory it be made a sacrifice; lest of a communion it be made a private eating: lest of two parts we have but one; lest applying it for the dead, we lose the fruit that be alive." In another of these Homilies, "For repairing of Churches," the Presence is similarly implied in the reception or partaking: "The partaking of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ is there offered

that elapsed between the Forty-two Articles and the Thirty-nine, an interval which included the reign of Mary, may be taken for the period in which the Sacramental question passed into a second phase, when it was resolved no longer to debate the nature or the manner of the Presence, save in the denial of Transubstantiation, but to turn to the reception or partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ.

Upon the authority of the Church, the former declaration of the Forty-two, regarding the subordination of all teaching to the written Word, received a celebrated addition, in the clause which now begins it, that "The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith." The literary history of this clause, more curious than important, may mark a struggle in adopting it, but leaves the adoption of it beyond doubt.* To assert with

unto us": and on the other hand the abuses, against which one of the Articles protested so vigorously, were denounced in the same kind of language: "What dens of thieves the churches of England have been made by the blasphemous buying and selling the most precious Body and Blood of Christ in the Mass," &c.

* It is not contained in the Parker Latin manuscript at Cambridge, nor in the two English manuscripts in the Record Office, nor in the English Jugge and Cawood of this year, 1563. But it is contained, albeit with peculiarity, in the Latin manuscript in the Record Office; and it is printed in the Latin Wolfe of 1563. So that it existed in 1563; and would not have been printed by the Queen's authority, it may be thought, unless it had been accepted by Convocation. The peculiarity which it exhibits in the Latin MS. (*Eliz. Dom.* xxvii. 41 A) is that the Article seems to have been written at first without it: but there was room under the title to get it in, and it was inserted all in one line, with a little close writing, very skilfully, by the same hand that wrote the rest of the MS. Another curious thing about this clause was that it was omitted in 1571 in a Latin and an English Jugge and Cawood, though it is found in two English editions of the same year and the same printers. See about all this, Hardwick, ch. vi. Furthermore: Mocket, Archbishop Abbot's chaplain, omitted it in his edition of the Articles in 1617.—Fuller, Bk. ix. 74. These varieties stirred Burton, a Puritan clergyman, when the Articles were republished in 1628 with the clause, to declare in a furious epistle to the Privy Council that it had never been in existence before, but was now

strength the independence of the Church upon the decisions of any church claiming to be the whole Church, nor less the freedom of the Church under the royal supremacy, nor less the office of the Church to regulate private judgement, was the extensive purpose of this clause: but furthermore it may be regarded as the head not only of one of the Articles, but of several, which together form a position silently opposite to Rome. The English Articles which had before declared the Scriptures to be paramount and sufficient, now added a list of the Scriptural Books which were to be received as Canonical, because they had never been doubted in the Church, and a list of the Books distinguished as Apocryphal.* They had before declared the Three Creeds to be thoroughly to be received: to this they now made a significant addition.† Seventeen years

forged by the bishops to justify their proceedings, and that it was "brought from Rome." It might have been "brought from Rome," if it had been what he quoted it; for with the vigorous inaccuracy which has always marked that party, he quoted it as saying that the Church had authority "in matters of faith," instead of controversies of faith. Archbishop Laud thereupon caused a copy to be taken from the Register of Convocation in St. Paul's (before the fire), attested by a public notary, containing the clause: adding further that in the records in his hands he had found the Book of Articles of 1563 subscribed by all the Lower House of Convocation in 1571. Collier gives a full account of all this, vol. vi. 374, ed. 1840. Heylin also (before the fire) declares that he had seen the controverted clause in the Register, vol. i. xciii. (Robertson). Neal gives an account of this dispute, *Puritans*, i. 147. He also thinks it went to "matters of faith." The question of the genuineness of the clause was reopened in the beginning of the eighteenth century by Anthony Collins, well known in his day, in a pamphlet entitled *Priestcraft in perfection*, which led to a vigorous controversy.

* There is some difference in the lists in the MSS. on Art. vi. which may perhaps mark a contest in the synod. The MS. *Dom. Eliz.* xxvii. 40 has the Apocryphal Books thus: 3 and 4 *Esdras*, *Wisdom*, *Tobias*, 1 and 2 *Maccabees*, *Jesus the son of Syrach*, *Judith*. Thus it omits *Esther*, *Baruch*, *The Three Children*, *Susanna*, *Bel and the Dragon*, and *The Prayer of Manasses*. Its neighbour, 41, has them all: but, again, has nothing to say about the Books of the New Testament. So also Hardwick, App. iii.

† "Omnino recipienda sunt *et credenda*."—Art. viii.

previously the first blast of the Tridentine trumpet had stunned the intellect of the human race, and in its first Decrees the Council had flung antiquity to the winds by pronouncing tradition to be co-ordinate with Scripture, by issuing an indiscriminate list of the Canonical and Apocryphal Books, as all on the same level, by affirming a Latin version to be incorrigible, in the presence of the Hebrew and Greek originals, and by reciting as the Rule of Faith one only of the Creeds.

The English Confession, in the edition of the Thirty-nine Articles, was severed from the Book of Common Prayer. The Forty-two had embraced both the Prayer Book and the Ordinal of Edward in a common declaration to be in no point repugnant to the Gospel.* For this a new Article was written affirming nothing of the Prayer Book, but the Ordinal set forth in the reign and confirmed by the Parliament of Edward to contain all things necessary, and all persons ordered according to it to be rightly and lawfully ordered.† The preponderance of the Evangelicals may perhaps be perceived in this omission, secured it may be by the willingness of other parties not to foreclose the future, or by the wisdom of letting things stand for themselves.‡ But the Homilies, both First and Second Books, were commended. Those of the Second Book, the composure of divines then sitting in the synod, were enumerated, and the Book itself was published in the same year. They “contain godly and wholesome doctrine,” and they were “necessary for the

* There was a similar declaration in the Eleven Articles of 1559.

† Observe that in this Article (xxxvi.) it is not alleged that the Ordinal had been confirmed by the Parliament, the first Parliament, of Elizabeth.

‡ The Articles therefore form no part of the Prayer Book, and have no connection with it, though often printed in it. They are not in the Annexed Book of 1662.

times": but they are not among the most pleasing performances of the age: the continual attacks upon the practices and superstitions of the former system weary the reader of a later day: the same style seems followed in them all. Nevertheless there are some noble passages in them. The Second Book is not so good as the First.*

A Catechism, or Catechisms, in English and in Latin, a shorter and a longer, written by the same hand, gained the votes and completed the doctrinal labours of this diligent Convocation. The author, Dean Nowell, the Prolocutor, who presented his own performances, had been entrusted, it seems likely, with the work of preparing some form or forms of instruction for the young and for schools, and particularly for the unlearned clergy whom necessity admitted: for it had been among the things designed by the bishops some years before "that young priests or ministers made or to be made, be so instructed that they be able to make answer according to the form of some Catechism to be prescribed": and "that there be some long Catechism devised and printed for the erudition of simple curates."† The able catechist, if, to accept a pleasing and probable conjecture, it were two that he laid before the houses,‡ had undertaken to supply

* The remarks of Burnet on the Homilies seem fair: that "their design was to mix speculative points with practical matters": that they are not critically exact, but that, all things considered, "they are two extraordinary books," &c. Fuller has to say that "they are penned in a plain style, accommodated to the capacities of the hearers, and (he is loth to say) of the readers"; that "if they did little good, they did no harm" in one respect, that they preached not strange doctrine, &c. p. 62.

† Interpretations of the Queen's Injunctions, 1559, Cardwell's *Doc. Ann.* i. 204.

‡ Dr. Groves, of Dublin, is the author of the conjecture that Nowell offered two Catechisms to Convocation, instead of one, as Strype and

the deficiencies or increase the utility of two already in use and authority, the Catechism of the Prayer Book, and that long Catechism which bore the name of the Short Catechism, and was so curiously complicated with the Forty-two Articles of Edward, and was rightly attributed to Ponet.* In regard to the Catechism of the Prayer Book, Nowell offered in English his Small Catechism: for Ponet's Catechism he produced his largest manual of the kind, entitled *Catechismus sive Prima Institutio*, in Latin. In both he made the manual that he supplemented the groundwork of his own. His English formulary, perhaps the more important of the two, followed the Catechism of the Prayer Book closely, but expanded it in places so much as to indicate that it was designed for others than children, and added an exposition of the Sacraments which was the foundation of that which is now in the Prayer Book.† This book was famous in its

the other earlier writers all supposed. He argues that the entry in the Register of Convocation, Feb. 5, "aliis episcopis assignatum fuit munus examinandi librum vocatum *The Catechism*," must have reference to a book in English: and the other entry, Mar. 3, to one in Latin: "prolocutor nomine totius cœtus domus inferioris presentavit Reverendissimo et episcopis suffraganeis librum nuncupatum *Catechismus puerorum*, cui, ut asseruit, omnes de cœtu ejusdem domus unanimiter consenserunt."—Wilkins, iv. 239. See Groves' Latin Version of *Nowell's Small Catechism*, Dublin, 1878. The order of proceeding shown in these entries confirms this, as it appears to relate to different books. I have ventured to enlarge Dr. Groves' conjecture of two Catechisms by suggesting that there were two because there were two previous Catechisms to be auxiliated.

* As to Ponet's *Catechismus Brevis*, and the Forty-two Articles, see Vol. III. pp. 513–28 of this work; also Vol. IV. pp. 74, 92, 193, 197.

† He goes word for word with the Prayer Book Catechism down to the end of duty to neighbour. Then he expands this into separate questions and long answers upon the duty of subjects to the prince, of children to parents, of parishioners to pastors, of servants to masters, of parents to children, of masters and householders, of husbands to wives and of wives toward husbands, taking the last two from the exhortation of the office of Matrimony. In turn his additament on the Sacraments

day: was translated into Latin by the author, into Greek by his learned friend Whitaker, for the use of higher students; was known as "the Catechism with additions," and rehearsed in schools and churches; was demanded of the clergy, willing or unwilling; dared the anger of the aliens; and fell into oblivion as soon as the sacramental part was added to the Catechism of the Prayer Book in the following age. The Largest Catechism in Latin was for schools and universities: but it never attained the celebrity of the other: it remained unpublished for eight years: and in the interval the author abridged it, and so produced (for he was the author of three) his Middle Catechism. If brevity be the excellence of Catechisms, Nowell was rewarded according to his merits. The Middle Catechism surpassed the Largest in use and fame: it was translated into English and into Greek by Norton and by Whitaker. But in the following age it fell into disuse.* Of Nowell's three Catechisms it was the Small and the Largest that were before the Convocation

was closely followed by the Sacramental part which was added to the Catechism of the Prayer Book in the days of Overall and the Hampton Court Conference. It was however much longer than this, and contained a good deal of controversial matter; as, e.g., the question whether the Lord's Supper was instituted that a sacrifice might be offered to God the Father for the remission of sins: and the assertion that Transubstantiation would overthrow the nature of a Sacrament. Nowell's *Catechism with additions* was not used instead of the Prayer Book Catechism, but as a further instruction for communicants. This appears from the "Articles agreed upon" at Lambeth, April 12, 1561: "That besides the Catechism for children which are to be confirmed, another somewhat longer may be devised for communicants: and the third in Latin for Schools."—Wilkins, iv. 225, or Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* i. 265. The "Catechism for children" was the Prayer Book Catechism: the other, for communicants, was Nowell's Small Catechism: the third, in Latin, was Nowell's Largest Catechism.

* Dr. Groves' Preface. Only a very few copies of any of them exist. Dr. Jacobson reprinted the Largest Catechism (Ox. 1835), with a valuable preface.

of this year. It seems to have been designed to commend them in the Thirty-nine Articles, but this was not done.*

Accident has preserved one scene, in the last sitting of this great assembly, which exhibits the chafing of the Lower House against the bishops, or at least the disquiet of the extremer Evangelics, or perhaps more generally the discontent of the clergy at the loss of their former power, under colour of a remonstrance attempted against that well-known clause of Elizabeth's first Act for Uniformity by which further powers were reserved to the Crown and the Primate. "The clergy discuss and ordain," wrote a nonconforming Evangelic some years after; "they may have as wide cognisance, and make as many constitutions as they like; but nothing stands, nothing runs, without the Queen and the Archbishop. Hence it was that in the last synod but one many resolutions, of the greatest advantage to the Church, which were passed by the clergy, were suppressed, and never came to light. At the last sitting of that synod our case was brought forward by a man of great learning of the diocese of Norwich. A bishop stopped him, asking him, 'What is that to you? we began this thing, and we will finish it.' The learned man replied, 'We have always thought that the Queen was the author of this thing, but now we see it is you.' And so they would not allow the question to be raised."†

* In the Latin MS. of the Articles (*Eliz. Dom.* xxvii. 41 A) there is after Article 36 a heading *Catechismus Latine editus*, and then a blank space followed by Article 37.

† "Cognoscunt et statuunt ministri, sed ita ut nihil firmum ratumque habeatur, nisi assentiente Regina et Archiepiscopo. Unde fiebat ut multa ad maximam ecclesiæ utilitatem, a penultima synodo conclusa, supprimerentur, neque in lucem exierunt. Causa vero nostra erat synodo proposita postremis comitiis a quodam doctissimo viro spectante ad Nordo-

Apprehension was felt on more sides than one concerning the application of the new and formidable Act of the late session of Parliament in the branch of ministering the Oath of the Supremacy. The House of Lords had secured themselves from the necessity of taking, the Commons had taken, the subjects in general were not required to take, and the law officers were exempted from rendering as matter of course this compulsive obligation, of which the second rejection was high treason. But to the clergy, and to all persons refusing or depraving the English Service or frequenting the forbidden Mass, the Oath was to be ministered by the bishops. Thus, according to the customary usage of Parliament, the clergy were more touched than the laity, and an invidious burden was cast upon the ordinaries. They were to do the work of the State: large powers were put into their hands: rigour would be odious, and dangerous to themselves; but slackness would be contemptible in men who were commanded to search for disaffection. A persecution was expected. "It looks as if they wanted to mimic the Spanish Inquisition: but really the provisions of the Act are so severe that they seem impossible of execution. God be merciful to these poor men that are in prison," wrote Quadra to Philip. And again, "They say that on the first of April they will demand the Oath of the Bishops who are in the Tower, and that those who will not take it must die: which I doubt not, unless

wicensem episcopum. Sed episcopus quidam interpellabat hominem, dicens, *Quid hæc ad vos? Nos cœpimus hanc rem, nosque ad exitum perducemus.* Respondit ille, *Nos Reginam hujus rei auctorem existimavimus: at nunc vos esse perspicimus.* Et ita non sunt passi hanc causam agi." George Withers to Bartholet, Bullinger, and Gualter, Aug. 1567.—*Zurich Lett.* ii. 89. At the date of this letter the Convocation of 1563 would be the "penultima synodus": as there was another in 1566. It is therefore the one that is referred to.

God find some remedy for it. The Bishops are very joyful, awaiting the Lord's will." *

But wiser and more Christian counsels prevailed, mainly through one man. Judging, it may be, from the recollections of her girlhood, the Queen about this time remarked that Archbishop Parker was "too soft and easy," giving him little credit for the firmness that lay beneath a gentle manner. The remark, which was repeated to him by Cecil, moved him not from the course of bold moderation which he was resolved to pursue in this dangerous crisis, when in the case of religion the safety of the subject had been once more cast away by the subservience of the lay legislature. "In our late Convocation," he replied to Cecil, "I found by experience the qualities of all my brethren. Her Majesty may be content with her choice of the most of them (among whom I count not myself), though some may be unstable or leaky. We did little in that assembly for our own cause, but our mutual conferences taught us how to govern the better thereafter. My brethren, if they were asked, would not count me too easy, but too sharp and earnest in moderation; which I will use till mediocrity shall be received among us. To them that are without I cannot but shew civil affability, but, I trust, no great cowardliness." He went on to explain a plan by which he proposed nothing less than "to stay full execution of the imperial laws," taking the burden upon himself, without reciting the Queen's name in it, bearing the brunt of both parties, without having or requiring any warrant in writing. "If," said he, "the jeoparding of my private estimation may do good, that the purpose itself may be performed that the Queen would have done, it shall suffice."† His

* Quadra to King Philip, Lond. Feb. 15 and 20, 1563.—*Span. Cal.* 302.

† Parker to Cecil, Strype's *Parker*, i. 126, or Parker's *Corresp.* 173.

device was to send letters, written in his own name alone, to all the bishops, desiring them never to offer the Oath a second time without his permission in writing, and never to have it refused for the first time without immediately informing him.* This he did, apparently with the sanction of Cecil, to whom he sent a specimen of the letters. It will enhance the boldness of Parker to reflect that every bishop, not less than any lay commissioner who might be specially appointed, was ordered by the Act to certify any refusal, first or second, into King's Bench within forty days. Parker appears to have desired to intervene before the certificate was sent.

However, as it regarded the insuperable cohort in

In this letter he uses the expression "the honest Protestant" as opposed to "the adversary." I know not whether by "moderation" and "mediocrity" he means the "via media." This last has always seemed to me a false and poor expression.

* "To my loving brother, &c. This is to charge you to have a very grave, prudent, and godly respect in executing the Act of the establishment of the Queen's authority over her ecclesiastical subjects, late passed in this Parliament. And if your lordship shall be compelled for the wilfulness of some of that sort to tender the Oath mentioned in the same Act, the peremptory refusal whereof shall endanger them in *Præmunire*, that immediately upon such refusal of any person ye do address your letters unto me, expressing the disorders of such one who is fallen into such danger: and that ye proceed not to offer the said Oath a second time until you have my answer returned unto you in writing," &c.—Strype, *Parker*, i. 125, and Parker's *Corresp.* as above. Lingard ascribes the whole of this to the Queen. "If this barbarous statute had been strictly carried into execution, the scaffolds in every part of the kingdom would have been drenched with the blood of the sufferers: but the Queen was appalled at the prospect before her: she communicated her sentiments to the metropolitan: and that prelate, by a circular, but secret, letter, admonished the bishops, who had been appointed to minister the Oath, to proceed with lenity and caution," &c.—vi. 83. Perhaps the allusion in Parker's letter to Cecil to "the purpose that the Queen would have done" may bear this out. And certainly the minister Cecil read Parker's circular, to which he added a paragraph before it was sent to the bishops. But on the other hand Parker speaks as if the device had been his own. He has had little credit for it in history.

the Tower, and their outposts in the Fleet and the Marshalsea, the apprehensions of such men as the Spanish ambassador seemed likely to be fulfilled. An attempt appears to have been made immediately to demand the Oath from them. "This week they began to demand the Oath from the Catholic bishops in accordance with the new Act passed in Parliament recently; and the Bishops of London and Lincoln, and Doctors Cole and Storey, have been summoned for Monday next."* In modern times, by a party which has no connection with them, pathetic representations have been made of the severity exercised upon these Romanensians: and their condition in prison has been painted in sad colours. "Educated, learned, and distinguished men deprived of their liberty, of social intercourse, and of all the external consolations of religion."† And now the Oath, which they had refused in the first year of the Queen,‡ is said to have been suspended over them again. A first refusal of the Oath under the new statute, if it had been carried to a trial, would have led to their imprisonment during the Queen's pleasure, that is, their perpetual imprisonment, which was the penalty of *præmunire*; a second would have conducted them to the scaffold. But it was not designed to set the Oath at them. There was no intention of going to extremes with them: nor in fact was it with reference

* Quadra to King Philip, April 24, 1563—*Span. Cal.* 322. He goes on to fear lest some of them should from faint-heartedness take the Oath. He lays the blame on Philip, "in whom these good people had placed all their hope."

† Bridgett's *Catholic Hierarchy*, 42. After the delineation of their woes in the "living death of the Tower," of which this is a mild specimen, this writer goes on to describe "their heroism" in their easier places of limitation or detention to which they were presently dispersed.

‡ Above, ch. xxxii.

to them that the Act was framed. Instead of prison and death because of the Oath refused, the Oath was not ministered to them. The Queen refused to sign the commission to tender it to the Bishops of London and Lincoln and the two doctors, Cole and Storey.* In a few months all the prelates in the Tower were set at large. It was not for death that they left it. Lest the plague should assail them in their fortress—the plague raged fearfully in London in the summer and autumn of this year, the plague drove the English army out of Havre de Grace this year—they were dispersed in September to easier prisons, the palaces of bishops, or the boundaries of allotted spaces. The gentleness of this treatment, which was responsive to their own suit made to the Council,† is a happy memorial in the midst of the dread and bitter struggles of their age: but there was justice in it as well as mercy. Why should they have been kept in the Tower any longer, seeing that not one of them that were then in the Tower was there for having formerly refused the Oath,‡ although they had all formerly refused it, but for other offences and contempts, which they had now sufficiently purged? There was moreover, it may be supposed, an instinctive feeling in the general mind

* “Last week a commission was issued to summon for trial four of the Catholic prisoners: two bishops, of London and Lincoln; and two doctors, Cole, who was commissioner against the Lutherans in the time of our lady Queen Mary now in heaven, and Storey. The commission has not yet been signed by the Queen, as when they took it to her she said she would sign it another day at her convenience.” Quadra to King Philip, May 9, 1563.—*Span. Cal.* 323.

† The Council informed Parker that they had acted “upon suit made unto us by the doctors, prisoners in the Tower, to be removed from thence to some other convenient place, for their better safeguard from the present infection of the plague.”—Parker’s *Corresp.*, p. 192. Mr. Bridgett seems not to have observed this, though he quotes the same letter; indeed part of the same sentence.—*Cath. Hier.* 98.

‡ Above, ch. xxxiv.

that it would have been the height of injustice to have made these deprived prelates the scapegoats of the late Persecution, the guilt of which lay really at the door of the Lords and Commons of Queen Mary, who had given away by law the lives of their fellow subjects. It was not beyond remembrance, perchance, that these men, or most of them, were of those through whose reluctant mildness that sordid betrayal had been prevented from being tenfold more bloody. The bitter memories therefore that still pursued them, the indignant murmurs of those who had suffered when they were in power, were not allowed to prevail. It was to no purpose now, when they were enlarged from the Tower, that their fiercer adversaries cried out against them, and that a preacher at Paul's Cross longed to see a gallows set up in Smithfield and the old bishops and other papists hanged thereon.* They departed. Heath of York to the liberty of residence within prescribed limits, choosing, it would seem, the places for himself: Turberville of Exeter to the custody of Grindal,† with whom having remained

* "Anno 1563, in September, the old bishops and divers doctors were removed out of the Tower into the new bishops' houses, there to remain prisoners under their custody (the plague being in the city was thought to be the cause), but their deliverance (or rather change of prison) did so much offend the people that the preachers at Paul's Cross and in other places, both of the city and country, preached (as it was thought of many men) very seditiously, as Baldwin at Paul's Cross wishing a gallows set up in Smithfield and the old bishops and other papists to be hanged thereon. Himself died of the plague the next week after."—Stow's *Memoranda*, in *Three Chronicles*, Camden Soc. 126 (quoted by Mr. Bridgett). The plague in London was appalling in that month. The week ending Sept. 10, fourteen hundred died of it "and never a parish in London clear." The bishops were sent away on the fourteenth. In the week following, ending Sept. 17, sixteen hundred died.—*Ib.* p. 123.

† This, which has escaped observation hitherto, is found in a minute of the Privy Council, Jan. 30, 1565. "A letter to the Bishop of London, signifying that at his motion the Lords are contented that after he shall have taken good bonds with sufficient sureties of Dr. Turberville, heretofore

a year and a half he was discharged under limitation : Thirlby announcing himself to Parker as his guest, and receiving no unkind welcome :* Bourne of Bath and Wells consigned to the hospitality of Bullingham

committed to his custody, that he shall remain in some certain place in the city of London, and be forthcoming when his Lordship shall call for him ; that he is willed to suffer him to depart, of whose further custody he is for this time discharged.”—Dasent, *Acts*, 190.

* Thirlby's letter and Parker's reply are pleasant enough. He called himself “an unbidden guest who according to the proverb, wotteth not where to sit,” and that he was bringing all his family with him, that was, his man and his boy,” and was in doubt what way to take without danger of the plague, all the places on the way into Kent being infected. Parker politely replied that a guest, bidden or unbidden, should deserve the better welcome, being content with what he should find. “And if you bring your man and your young chorister too, ye shall not be refused.” He gives him directions how best to reach Bekesbourne, the manor where he was staying. He also wrote to Cecil that he proposed to put them in another house for a fortnight “till they were better blown with this fresh air,” lest his own family should be infected. He said that he “would not be thought slack to gratify his old acquaintance,” Thirlby, so far as he could with fidelity : that for Dr. Boxall, he “did not so well know his nature.” See the letters in the Parker *Corresp.* 193, or in Bridgett, 98. The latter bestows some rather unhandsome reflections on Parker. Thirlby's fellow-guest Boxall afterwards wrote a letter to thank Parker for “his very good entertainment so long time” (Strype's *Parker*, i. 141): and there is no reason to think that Parker treated Thirlby worse than Boxall. As for the other bishops removed from the Tower, Heath went to Chobham, near Windsor, where he lived many years ; and was once reported by a spy to be about to have a Mass there. Of Turberville it was affirmed by Cecil that “he was an honest gentleman, but a simple bishop, who lived at his own liberty to the end of his life.”—Burleigh's *English Justice*. Mr. Bridgett having nothing to bring against this, remarks that Lord Burleigh was one of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners by whom Turberville was put in the Tower, so “we may know what to think of his truthfulness.” Surely this begs the question. Bourne was with Bullingham nearly three years, and then was allowed to reside in his own house. Of his treatment by Bullingham, Mr. Bridgett says “we must remain in ignorance.”—Bridgett, 94. And yet there is a circumstance related of it, that he asked permission for Bourne to live in his own house in London awhile, rather than in inconvenient lodgings.—Strype's *Parker*, i. 142. This savours not of very great cruelty. Of Watson there is more to say. The condition of these prelates is said to have been “worse than any death in the world.”—Card. Allen (quoted by Bridgett, 119). It is a sad reflection : but we may console ourselves that it was made for them and not by them.

of Lincoln: Watson of Lincoln first to Grindal, but in about a month to Cox of Ely. With them were enlarged the several imprisoned doctors, the amiable Boxall going with Thirlby to Parker, the courteous Feckenham at first to Goodman, his successor at Westminster, afterwards to Bishop Horne of Winchester; the fiery Storey making his escape abroad;* Dean Cole on the other hand remained unrelieved in the Fleet. Bishop Pate of Worcester passed beyond seas, under circumstances which have not been ascertained.† Of bishops there were then but two left in London: Scot of Chester in the Fleet, and Bonner in the Marshalsea. But Scot was released, either now or soon after, under a bond to remain within twenty miles of Finchfield in Essex. He broke his bond, and followed Pate beyond seas, leaving his bail to suffer the consequences.‡ Bonner then was left alone in London. These

* The Spanish ambassador and his chaplain were considerably implicated in Storey's escape, which was in May. Quadra to Philip.—*Span. Cal.* 324.

† That Pate was sent to Jewel has not hitherto been remarked. It is found in the next entry in the Council Book to that about Turberville. "A letter to the Bishop of Salisbury to do *ut supra* with Dr. Pate, heretofore committed unto him, with this enlargement in or about London."—Dasent's *Acts*, 190. Whether Pate went abroad of his own free will, as the great Bishop Andrewes affirmed (in the *Tortura Torti*, p. 147, quoted by Bridgett, 77), or "escaped the vigilance of government," as Mr. Bridgett says, is not known. It may be suggested, as he was put under sureties, that he escaped by breaking his bond.

‡ Scot's bond, to reside as aforesaid, and to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners when he might be duly summoned, is in the Record Office, *Eliz. Dom.* xxxv. No. 38. In the *Calendar*, p. 247, it is put conjecturally in the year 1564: but was probably earlier. Next year, when Dean Boxall petitioned the Council for release from Parker's custody, he was refused because Scot "receiving favour upon his own bond, and the bond of his friends, had withdrawn himself without regard had either of his own bond or the danger of his friends, and therein had committed the act of contempt of the Queen's Majesty, a matter much noted and many ways evil reported." Council to Parker, June 23, 1564.—Parker's *Corresp.*, p. 217.

deprived Romanensian prelates, all of them, behaved admirably to the Church of England, to which they belonged, in one most important particular. They never ordained any person after their deprivation, never attempted to propagate a schism, or set altar against altar. They sought simply to discharge their own consciences.

In the "free custody,"* to which they were assigned, they appear to have made the best of circumstances, secretly celebrating Mass, as they had any opportunity, engaging in correspondence, and expressing in their private conversations with persons of like mind their detestation of the English Service. The most restless of them from the first was the powerful Bishop Watson, of whom Grindal, his first custodian, has recorded some curious particulars. He refused to confer with Grindal on any point: that he could enter into conference with no man, for the reason that he would not incur penalties of laws: and when he was reminded that only one law was penal, which might be forborne or avoided, he still refused. When he was transferred to Cox of Ely the remark of his new host to his late host was that he was welcome for the sake of them that sent him, "but not otherwise":† and in no great length of time Watson was in trouble again. By Feckenham, when he found himself in the abode of Horne, a different course was pursued. He was "not so precise, but could be contented to confer": and Horne, who in King Edward's days had "travailed with him in the Tower," and brought him to subscribe

* I venture to repeat this oxymoron, though Mr. Bridgett mournfully likens it to "clean dirtiness, or cold warmth" (p. 6). All things are comparative in this world.

† Grindal to Cecil, Oct. 15, 1563.—*Remains*, Parker Soc. 280. Grindal's willingness to keep off dangerous ground, and to tell Cecil that he would, might be remarked.

almost all things, was hopeful of his compliance now.* He was disappointed. They conferred, but parted asunder in disagreement: Feckenham wrote and dispersed a paper concerning their discourses: Horne vindicated himself thereon at large in print.†

The perils, seen and embellished by the imagination of the Spanish ambassador and of the Romanensian exiles, impending over these distinguished prisoners, engaged the attention of the King of Spain and of the benevolent Emperor Ferdinand; who sought simultaneously to avert them in the summer of this year by letters to the Queen.‡ Two or three months afterwards the Emperor addressed her in urgent style, making an important proposition. "Pray take no severe measures against the bishops incarcerated, or against any other your subjects professing our Catholic religion, if they cannot with a good conscience accept what you and your Estates have recently promulgated and ordained by law. Although your Majesty follow a different religion, be it far from you to persecute, harass, exterminate, and oppress your Catholic subjects. Nay, rather grant them one church in every town, wherein they may worship freely." This was received a few days after the enlargement of the bishops from the Tower.

* Grindal's letter, as above.

† Strype, *Ann.* i. 497. Mr. Bridgett informs us that there is an account of this conference in Stapleton's *Counterblast*.

‡ Philip sent to "Elizabeth a letter of credence in favour of Bishop Quadra," begging her favour for the imprisoned bishops and other Catholics, on June 15, 1563.—*Span. Cal.* 334. I have ventured to assume that Ferdinand's first letter, which is not extant, but to which he alludes in his second, was of the same date and import. See next note. Both monarchs appear to have been set in motion by the Council of Trent, now sitting, which was much exercised by the position of things in England: probably through the representations of the one or two exiled Romanensian prelates who were in it.

The answer of the Queen was decisive: that it was much for her to have dealt mildly with men who had set themselves so insolently against her laws and the tranquillity of her faithful subjects: men, the chief of whom, in her father's and her brother's reign, had maintained publicly in preaching and writing the doctrine which they now stubbornly rejected: that as to granting them churches she could do no such thing with safety, honour, or conscience. "I and my countrymen," continued she, "follow no new or strange religions, but that same religion which is approved by the mind and voice of the greatest Fathers. To allow churches for diversity of rites would be nothing but propagating one religion out of another, distracting the minds of good men, nursing factions, pestering the commonwealth: a thing of detestable example and very dangerous. In deference mainly to your request,* I have connived somewhat at the insolence of these few men now in private life: I cannot go further in indulging them and others even more fractious." Good ground was taken there.

During the summer the bishops were occupied by order of the Council in a survey of the condition of their dioceses. In the letters which they received, the well-known, the indefinite language of the Tudors

* Ferdinand's second letter, in which he alludes to his first, was of Sept. 24, 1563. It is printed by Strype, with the reply of Elizabeth, *Annals*, ii. 97 (Second App. D and E). It is also printed in Raynaldus, *Annales*, anno 1563, cap. 117, in the account of the Council of Trent. The following passage in Elizabeth's reply is finely phrased: "Nos et nostri (Deo sint gratiae) non novas ullas non alienas sectamur religiones, sed eam ipsam quam probat illustrissimorum Patrum mens consentiens et vox. Concedere vero templum diversis ritibus, praeterquam quod aperte pugnat cum nostri parlamenti legibus, nihil aliud esset quam serere religionem ex religione, distrahere mentes bonorum, alere studia factiosorum, religionem et rempublicam perturbare in hoc jam quieto statu nostro," &c. —Strype, i. 98.

was employed, and the reason of the investigation was alleged in "certain good considerations moving the Queen's Majesty." It was to be made as speedily, and, it would seem, as secretly, as it was possible: by the same messengers who brought the letters, or within two or three days at furthest, the bishops were to return such answers as they could from their own knowledge: if there were any particulars which they could not certify without consulting their chancellors, archdeacons, deans, and other officers, they were to procure information without delay of time. The enquiry, which was said to be only "in some part," turned upon the number of archdeaconries and deaneries; the names of those who occupied them; the number of parishes having vicars or curates; of chapels of ease having or lacking curates or ministers; of places exempt; the number of households within every parish or chapelry. Suspicion was aroused by these curious demands: the alienation of chapelries and places exempt was thought to be intended; for it was with regard to these foundations that the inquisition was most inquisitive.*

The lack of schools, of good schoolmasters, and of scholars had long been sorely felt. In the Parliament of this year it was computed by the Speaker that a hundred schools were wanting in England, which had been in former times: that there were even great

* There were six Items or Articles. One was that where the parishes were so large as to have chapels of ease which had or ought to have curates or ministers in them, it was to be certified how many there were in every such parish, with the names of the towns or hamlets. Another was to certify how many exempt or peculiar places there were, not under the full jurisdiction of ordinary: their names, their occupiers. Another was ordering the bishop to copy out these enquiries, so far as they concerned exempt places, and send them to the persons holding them, commanding them in the Queen's name to return distinct answers forthwith.—*Strype's Parker*, i. 128, or *Parker's Corresp.* 280, or *Wilkins*, iv. 244.

market towns without schools.* An investigation of schools and hospitals had been ordered, the year before, in 1562, by letters royal to the bishops: who obeyed, enquired, and returned their certificates to the Court of Exchequer. One only of these documents has enjoyed the light: and of the diocese of Canterbury Archbishop Parker certified that there were four schools, two of which, Canterbury and Wye, were of the Queen's foundation, the other two, Maidstone and Tenterden, were of former and local foundation: that of hospitals there were thirteen, eleven of which were in good order, but two were in the hands of laymen, misused, making no distribution, in lamentable ruin and decay.† Efforts to remedy the defect of schools were made throughout the reign: some of the more notable by the generosity of the bishops. Thus Grindal founded the grammar school of St. Bees in Cumberland: Whitgift the grammar school of Croydon: Parker founded or augmented the grammar schools of Sandwich, Tunbridge, and Rochdale. It was proposed in Convocation that there should be a grammar school in every cathedral church.‡ Several schools may have been refounded by Elizabeth which had been ordered in the reign of King Edward to be continued, although the order perhaps had not been carried out before.§

The Spanish ambassador, Bishop Quadra of Aquila

* See the beginning of the chapter.

† "Certificatorium baronibus scaccarii de hospitalibus et scholis."—Ex. Reg. Park., fol. 237 b. In Wilkins, iv. 230; also in Parker's *Corresp.*, 165-6. I think I may venture to say, after enquiry, that no certificates of the sort remain among the Exchequer papers in the Record Office.

‡ This was among the "General Notes of matters to be moved," prepared in view of the Convocation of this year, which Strype has printed.—*Annals*, i. 319.

§ Much light has been thrown recently upon schools in the sixteenth century by Mr. Leach, author of *English Schools at the Reformation*, 1896. See note at the end of this chapter.

in Naples, had long been uncomfortable in his office. He hoped to bring back the Pope, or as he termed it, restore religion, by the futile project of a marriage between the Queen and Lord Robert Dudley, whom he thought religious: for which purpose he intrigued in a manner that was not very suitable to his own dignity. The Mass in his house in the Strand aroused continual suspicion and irritation in Cecil and the reforming party. His doors were watched, and spies hidden in his closets noted those who were at it, if any English, to report to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. His servants were bribed to divulge his correspondence: and discoveries were made which were prejudicial to many. His letters to his master were filled with voluminous narratives of the indignities to which he was subjected. Nor may some compassion be refused to an agent so ungratefully employed, who was exhausting his own resources in the service of his cause. But on the other hand the methods of Quadra himself were highly questionable. He had his own spies among the servants of the Queen and of Cecil. He was in secret communication with many of the Queen's subjects who were ill affected towards her proceedings. His intercepted letters* were filled with injurious reflections on the Queen and her people, as upon one occasion she angrily informed him that she knew. One notable instance of their mutual bickerings illustrated the ineffaceable difference between English and Neapolitan or Spanish notions of justice. One of the servants of Quadra killed his fellow servant, and left his service for the service of the Queen. He was sent back and replaced in Quadra's household. But

* Two at least of these intercepted letters remain, with Cecil's notes on them, in the Record Office.—*Foreign Pap., Eliz. Cal.*, p. 645.

his master being informed that he was sent back as a spy, dismissed him, and then went to the Queen and requested her to expel him from the kingdom. Her reply was that she could not expel him without enquiry: and though he begged her to reflect on ill example and scandal, and assured her that the man had injured many in his house, he could not move her. Two days afterwards she sent to tell him that she had ordered the man to be arrested, and that he might ask him any questions that he liked. He answered that he had not requested his arrest but his expulsion, or else that he should be handed over to him; that he could not put a servant on trial at any other tribunal than that of the king his master, or in his own house. Thereupon she set the man at liberty.* Thus she refused to punish without trial, to make herself a Spanish executioner. In the midst of his struggles and troubles Quadra was struck by death. The exhausted agent of a hopeless cause, he expired with the words "I can do no more": and was succeeded in the beginning of the next year by Don Guzman de Silva.† His body was treated with scandalous neglect by Philip, remaining unburied in London for nearly two years, before it was taken to Brussels and buried at the instance of the Duchess of Parma.

The long meditated Council of the Pope was opened in the first month of the year 1562 with a warm contest on the question whether it were to be declared

* These particulars are gathered from Quadra's voluminous letters in the *Spanish Calendar*. As to the servant, it ought to be added that he was kept in the palace after his release, to be out of danger and to be used as an informer.

† Quadra died in August, 1563.—*Span. Cal.* 346. His last letter was to Alva, complaining of the inadequacy of his instructions.—*Ib.* His successor came in the following January.

a new Council or the former continued.* The place, the spirit prevalent, suggested, warranted, the unaltered name of Trent: and the final sessions, extended over two years under Pius, were a true continuation of the convocation that met under Paul and Julius. An intractable Pope, an artificial majority, an opposition goaded to fury, liberty oppressed, conciliation refused, were the features that marked the last of the Tridentine periods from the beginning to the end. Obscure theologians, whose names are known only from this occasion, harangued the Fathers, and dictated the edicts which have cut Christendom in twain, it may be for ever. Legates, and none but Legates, propounded the questions to be submitted.† The Roman doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Mass a propitiatory Sacrifice for the quick and the dead, solitary Masses approved, the Apostles ordained priests by their Master on the night of the institution of the Sacrament, all these decreed under anathema, were among the last legacies to the world of the synod which was closed with the acclamation of "Anathema to all heretics, Amen. Anathema, Anathema." To overthrow the Queen of England by a decree was among the things debated at Trent. It was argued, in their phrase, that she was crushing her Catholic subjects under an outrageous yoke: to excuss which yoke some of them were resolved to take arms, invoking the arms of foreign Catholics, and

* "The Council was opened on the 18th inst., and the first session was to begin on the second Thursday in Lent. It has been disputed whether it shall be termed *Continuatio Concilii*, or *Indictio novi Concilii*."—*For. Cal.* 505.

† This novel clause in one of the decrees, *proponentibus legatis*, was greatly debated; in another decree, it was indeed explained not to be intended to make any innovation in the usual method of business in councils; but it was retained in spite of all remonstrance.

imploping that she might be smitten with a conciliar sentence. The Legate who had been induced to bring this forward, the famous Stanislaus Hosius, Archbishop of Ermeland in Poland, remarked that, if the bishops who were in prison were in Trent, the noble English nation would be present also, and not wholly alienated from the Church. But it was perceived that the appeal came only from one quarter: from Louvain, from the Belgian theologians, who were moved by the exiled Romanensians. The wisdom of proclaiming a crusade seemed doubtful. The Legates avoided a decision by referring the question to the Pope, the Emperor, and the French King. The Pope and the Emperor both replied that the attempt was too dangerous, and might end in a general conflagration:* but France, irritated by the affair of Havre de Grace, was for proceeding to extremities. Hereupon the King of Spain, who had remained unconsulted, proffered his advice through Cardinal Granvelle, and warned the Council of the danger of interfering with England. "They," said he, "who advise this are ardent and pious, but no managers of public business. If you listen to them, you will harden Elizabeth, make her kill the imprisoned bishops, and entirely upset my plans for recalling England to the obedience of the Church. Elizabeth is detested by all her subjects, heretic and Catholic alike: she knows that Mary of Scotland has a better right to the kingdom than she: the Catholic princes will find their own time for reducing her." One of the exiled Romanensian prelates, Goldwell of St. Asaph, sat in this last continuation of the Council.†

* It was upon this occasion that the Emperor wrote to Elizabeth the letter, which has been noticed above, about allowing churches for worship to the Romanensians.

† Dodd says that Pate of Worcester was there. Mr. Bridgett says

But although no public decree was made against England, a sentence or determination was given in the privacy of a committee of the Council, appointed by the Pope, upon a question concerning England, which was momentous enough, for it was the head-spring and source of the irreconcilable hostility of the Church of Rome to the Church of England. From the single account which seems to remain of this affair it would appear that the question of allowing Catholics to attend the worship of heretics in England, in other terms, of permitting Romanensians to frequent their parish churches to avoid the penalties of the law, was brought before the open Council, and answered affirmatively by the Fathers. A merciful decree might perhaps have been registered, but for the intervention of Cardinal Toletus, who protested against it. The Council then sent to the Pope to enquire in what manner they should treat the question, advising him, however, not to let it be put publicly in the Council,

that he finds no confirmation of this, and he is probably right. When the Council was debating about the clause *proponentibus legatis*, one of the proposals was that the various nations, in distinct committees, should propose subjects, and to this Cardinal Morone objected "*quod æquum videri non potest quod unus aut duo tantum Angliæ aut Hiberniæ episcopi eandem habeant in Concilio auctoritatem quam triginta Hispani aut Galli, ut de Italis taceam.*"—Raynaldus, *Annales*, 1563, cap. 91. The letters of the time mention only Goldwell. "From England (or rather from Rome) there is Thomas Goldwell, styled Bishop of St. Asaph." Giannetti to Cecil.—*For. Cal.* 555. "It may be that one Goldwell, a very simple and fond man, who was named in Queen Mary's time to the bishopric of St. Asaph, but never admitted thereto, fleeing from England to Rome, and there using a bishop's name, may have gone in some cardinal's train to Trent, and it is likely that the speech has arisen that an English bishop is there." Queen Elizabeth to Mundt.—*Ib.* 563. As Goldwell was undoubtedly Bishop of St. Asaph, Elizabeth must have meant to refer to his translation to Oxford, which was left incomplete by Mary's death. He wrote a letter from Trent to Cecil, offering to serve his Queen and country there. Getting no answer, he "did his best to induce the Council to excommunicate the Queen." He was also on a liturgical committee there. See his life in Bridgett.

lest the decision should irritate the Protestants. They sent him the "*Catholicorum Postulatio*," which had raised the question, a letter of unknown origin, whether from England or not, which had no names attached to it, because, as they remarked, "it concerned all": though they also remarked that theologians in England were divided and gave various answers.* The Pope wholly agreed with their advice, and nominated a committee of archbishops, bishops, and doctors for the business; a committee of eleven, which contained the formidable Laynez, the General of the Jesuits, and Peter de Soto, late well known in England; but which contained not the English Goldwell. He bade the

* The history of this obscure transaction I have given from the Jesuit Henry More, whose somewhat scarce *Historia Missionis Anglicanæ Soc. Jesu*, published 1660, is the only book that contains it, that I know. It is not very perspicuous in places, and I may have gone wrong in some points, but the main purport is what I have given. The "*Catholicorum Postulatio*" is given at length, and is as follows: "Religione in Anglia mutata, et pœna proposita si quis diebus Dominicis et festis a templis abstineat interim dum Psalmi et ex utroque Testamento lectiones vulgari lingua recitantur, laici multi et Catholici nobiles et Deum timentes, partim jam in carcere degentes, partim mox eo conjiciendi, amicorum et consanguineorum precibus, admonitionibus, et imminentium periculorum metu invitantur, ut saltem eatenus se de sententia deduci permittant, ut in templis Protestantium tantisper interesse velint diebus Dominicis et aliis festis dum Psalmi eorum more lingua vulgari decantari soliti et lectiones ex Bibliis lingua item populari depromptæ, necnon Conciones (quæ ad eorum dogmata approbanda frequentius commemorantur) fiunt. Jam qui hucusque nullo modo adduci potuerunt ut publicis prædictis precibus et concionibus interessent, magnopere edoceri postulant quid eis faciendum censeant viri pii et docti. Nam si nullo animæ periculo aut nulla Dei offensione, publico Regni sui decreto parere et obedire liceat, libenter id fecerint: Contra vero si quod in hac re periculum sit salutis æternæ aut læsæ Divinæ Majestatis, quidvis perpeti decreverunt potius quam quidquam agere aut permittere unde Deum offensus iri aut iratum intelligant. Hæc quæstio cum multis pias et religiosas conscientias exerceat et conturbet, rogandi estis omnes per viscera misericordiæ et caritatis, quam Christus a suis omnibus exigit, ut eam palam et dilucide quam primum expediatis, qua multi in hoc regno implicati torquentur."—Lib. iii. cc. v.-x. pp. 64-6.

Fathers hold the sentence of this body to be equivalent to a decree of the whole Council. The committee after deliberation gave sentence: "It is unlawful for you, under peril of the wrath of God, to be present at the prayers or sermons of heretics; it is far better to suffer the most atrocious miseries than give the least sign of consenting to their wicked and abominable rites." They gave many reasons and exhortations concerning Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, about the Maccabees, the scandal that might ensue, and the hope of a change for the better.* This cold obstruction, forged in secret, remained in darkness. It was probably unknown in England: if any rumour of it reached the Romanensians, it was heard reluctantly, and disregarded: nor was it because of this verdict of a jury of foreigners that any of them in these years left livings for chaplaincies in gentlemen's houses, or paid fines for refusing to enter their parish churches. Nevertheless the thing existed. It was known in Rome, though it was hidden: and it is important to note at how early a date the line of Rome was taken. It was the first step of the process which turned English Romanensians into English Roman Catholics. The process was to be completed, so far as it ever was completed, in a few years: and the writer who has preserved the transaction has observed with truth and pride that the Pope who excommunicated Elizabeth confirmed thereby the clandestine sentence of the committee of Trent.† This matter has wholly escaped the notice of historians. If it had been known, it

* It is needless to say that the heresy which is imputed to England in this document is the rejection of the claims of the Papal See, which is described as "a Christo summus Ecclesiæ suæ vertex in terra præfinita."—*Historia Missionis Anglicanæ Soc. Jesu*, p. 68.

† "Hæc Toletus his diebus rogatus respondit, et postliminio literis suis confirmavit Paulus Quintus Pontifex Maximus."—*Ib.* 66.

would have prevented some opinions of the disposition of Rome toward England which cannot be maintained. In management, aim, and end it was glorious popery. It was a legacy to the ages which is worthy to stand among the choicest benevolences of the testament of Trent.*

The hesitation of Elizabeth about sending ambassadors to the Council had been ended by the indiction of it. "As the Council was begun by the Pope's Bull, and only to be ended by his authority," she said, "she could not send an ambassade thither, the same being prejudicial to her Crown and prohibited by the laws of England." Even if she could have sent without prejudice, yet "at such a Council, where the Pope was head, his Legate president, his Cardinals assistants, and all who had a voice in it under oath to maintain his authority, no decree could be hoped for other than the Pope should like." On the other hand, the delusive project of an alliance with the Protestant Princes for a concord in religion and the reformation of abuses in the Church continued to amuse her.† Indeed there was in conception the project of a Council to be held on the Rhine, under the auspices of the Emperor and the French King, to which the French and German bishops should summon the Pope.‡ There was entertained the project of a united embassy of English Protestants, and French, to complain at Trent of the abuses of the Church by the Pope. The project was entertained of a conference between England and the Protestants, or adherents of the Augustan Confession, for a confederacy "for defence of all parts professing the

* Henricus Morus finishes his narrative by fixing the date: "Ita Patres eo tempore, anno videlicet sexagesimo secundo, censuere."—*Historia Missionis Anglicanæ Soc. Jesu*, p. 66.

† Elizabeth to Throckmorton, March, 1562.—*For. Cal.* 550.

‡ Giannetti to Cecil, March, 1562.—*Ib.* 555.

Gospel.”* Some steps were taken in this direction. The agent Christopher Mundt was ordered to communicate to the Duke of Wurtemberg that the Queen had neither sent ambassadors to Trent nor signified to the world her refusal or the cause thereof, holding herself bound to abide by the agreement made at Naumberg the last year, according to which she had undertaken to do nothing without informing the Protestants, and they had promised the same: that she had heard nothing from them for a long time, and desired to know what they had done or desired to do. Matters went no further. Prudence or Cecil discerned that in “the motion, being considered, there was more peril than was meet to be advertised.”†

* Cecil to Mundt, March, 1562.—*For. Cal.* 561.

† Cecil to Mundt; the Queen to Mundt, March, 1562.—*Ib.* 561, 562.

NOTE.

LEACH'S *ENGLISH SCHOOLS AT THE REFORMATION.*

SINCE I wrote my account of the schools founded under Edward the Sixth, in the third volume of this work, a book has been published, 1896, containing specimens of the Commissions of Enquiry issued under the Chantries Acts, and a body of extracts from the Certificates returned from the countries under these Commissions. The author, Mr. Leach, has made this publication subservient to the special purpose which he seems to have put before him, of destroying the reputation of Edward the Sixth as a founder of schools. This was needless, because it was treating a posthumous rumour as a primary historical fact. Neither Edward nor his creatures made any such claim for him. He added not "Founder of Schools" to his royal titles. As to myself, Mr. Leach wrongly asserts that I repeat "the common cry" about Edward. On the contrary, I was the first historian who departed from the general and almost sacred tradition of his enlightened and generous benefactions to education.

Mr. Leach has further favoured me with some strictures which are founded on misquotations of my work. He says that I say that "a school was *now* erected at Evesham," referring to Vol. II. (*it should be* Vol. III.) p. 460 *of this work*; where I say that "a school was *not* erected at Evesham." He says that I say that "the old college and sanctuary of St. Martin-le-Grand was *now* given to the chapter of Westminster," referring to Vol. II. p. 501 *of this work*; where I say that "the old college and sanctuary of St. Martin-le-Grand was given to the chapter of Westminster." He has however convicted me of misdating a document; but he has not done this very ingenuously; ignoring the fact that Burnet first made the mistake, not I, and writing as if he himself had discovered the right date, not the late Nicolas Pocock.



BX
5055
D48
1884
V.5
C.1
ROBA

